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YEAR OF REVOLUTION.

FROM

A JOURNAL KEPT IN PARIS IN 1848.

BY

Constantine Henry Ph. pps
THE MARQUIS OF NORMANBY, K.G.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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A

YEAR OF REVOLUTION.

VOL. I.

"Il n'y a de bon dans les Innovations que ce qui est développement, accroissement, achèvement."

"Imitez le Temps : il détruit tout avec lenteur : il mine, il use, il déracine, il détache, et n'arrache point."

JOUBERT.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE title-page of these volumes sufficiently indicates that they must comprise within their contents a recital of events by no means novel in the general relation of cause and effect, but in some of their contradictory peculiarities entirely without a previous parallel in the history of this or any other age. After an interval of deceitful repose, with no more warning than a tropical convulsion of the elements, the spirit of revolution burst upon a new generation that was basking in the security of its own conceit, and boasting itself not only the most enlightened, but the most peaceful and practical, that had ever existed. The sudden catastrophe was unexampled in the facility with which it seemed, on the first pressure, to shiver into its original atoms the most complicated machine of government the world had ever seen; equally remarkable was the submissive acquiescence with which a substitute approved by none was for a time allowed to exert its power throughout the length and breadth of

that most civilised land, whilst unbounded was the immediate spread of the contagion, destroying all feeling of security in the most distant countries and under the strongest Governments.

But sudden and complete as was the temporary triumph of that which M. de Lamartine alone foreshadowed as the “revolution de mépris,” equally sudden and complete was the reaction which, like the revolution itself, was the offspring of general disappointment and universal contempt: in the impatience to get rid of that which was felt to be intolerable, all conspired to unite in an expedient of which none foresaw the permanence, and of which, at the period of the revolution, none either of its authors or victims ever contemplated the possibility. I think I have enumerated summarily some striking peculiarities which distinguish the year 1848 from any previous era of political convulsion; but perhaps the most extraordinary circumstance is, that after the short interval of seven or eight years, so few people should recall accurately the character of facts, of which, to be sure, there never was any correct appreciation, and which now seem almost effaced from their memory.

I am convinced that a sufficiently vivid recollection has not been retained, by the very generation amongst whom the events occurred, of the real character of that revolutionary spirit which in 1848 paralysed the governmental action of most of the countries of Europe; they should be reminded of the moments

of fatal import to the very existence of society, the dangers of which were escaped almost by miracle, the abortive result of so many day-dreams of Utopian perfection left almost every individual less happy, every country less prosperous, every people not only less free, but less hopeful of freedom hereafter,—for what rational hope for the immediate future could be retained where the reaction was produced by the universal odium which the most popular form of government had upon experience excited in the vast majority of the very people with whom the movement originated. There are, too, others of opposite tendencies, to whom salutary reflection, founded on accurate information as to the events of 1848, might operate as a useful warning. A dissecting exposure of its lame and impotent results should be preceded by a searching retrospect of its predisposing causes ; and rulers of every country, not excluding our own, would do well not to forget, that the perversion alone, through corruption to selfish purposes, by clever men, of that very form of government which we are accustomed to consider the most perfect, produced the "*revolution de mépris*."

So little interest had been felt, at least in England, in all that concatenation of mistakes and misdeeds which combined in forcing on this unexpected catastrophe, that I am convinced ninety-nine out of a hundred of my countrymen could more accurately describe each incident of the peaceful and justly styled Glorious Revolution of 1688 (especially

since its recollections have been revived under the inspiration of the most fascinating pen of our day), than they could answer the commonest questions as to that of 1848, which passed actually under their own eyes, and the details of which were daily dinned into their ears by the perambulating stentors of the foot pavement.

The fact is, that surprising incidents followed each other in such rapid succession that even to myself, living upon the spot, it seemed more like reading the heads of chapters only of some history within whose limits might be comprised the transactions of many years. I have glanced at some of the reasons which make me think it of importance that the impressions, daily growing more shadowy and confused, of the wonderful chances and changes of the year 1848, should be revived for the correct appreciation of the recent past, and as a beacon whereby to shape our course for the future. Believing, therefore, that this is a task no longer to be neglected, I cannot conceal from myself that, from the personal as much as from the official position I then occupied, I had peculiar facilities for collecting the materials for its impartial execution. For some time before, as well as for long after, the period which I would specially comprise in these Memoirs, I was a constant and most attentive observer of all that was passing in France.

I have, under all these circumstances, the conviction that I ought to be a competent and trustworthy

witness ; and it is to this character alone that I now aspire. I have no pretensions to forestall the more matured judgment of history. I have a sense of duty, I trust, too strong to permit me thus to reveal any diplomatic transactions. I select from the mass of papers which six years' constant correspondence during a most interesting period has inevitably accumulated, in connexion with other materials preserved in a different shape, merely those passages in the history of the times whose interest is independent of any action on the part of the Government I was serving. The same reserve is observed as to anything that passed between myself and any member of the last Government of Louis-Philippe. I have not now sought to change or to modify a single statement or opinion of importance ; not even to correct the style of that which was often written in haste, and amidst perpetual interruption. The materials for these volumes are extracted, generally, either from private notes taken at the moment for the subsequent information of my Government, or from a journal somewhat irregularly kept ; the main incidents in which are also generally recorded in dispatches forwarded from day to day. The system of the different revolutionary governments which succeeded each other was to give the utmost publicity to their every act, to their intentions, and even, in some instances, to the differences amongst themselves ; some curious details of which were given to the world, even in

the autumn of the same year, in the history of M. de Lamartine. Though, during the greater part of the time, acting according to my own discretion, without any regular official character, yet being on the spot, and therefore best able to estimate what the exigencies of ever changing circumstances might require, I was, during the period here comprised, necessarily much consulted as to the relations of the French Government with other countries, in the concerns of which they were more or less inclined to interfere; but for many reasons I think it much too soon to revive any details of this description. I for the present, therefore, omit all allusion to these topics, except so far as the French Government were called upon to interfere with filibustering expeditions across the frontier. It is generally of what passed within those frontiers that I would speak, and of those political phantoms which first saw the light, as they also faded from the view, within the year 1848. I am happy to think that the period I had already passed in France before the Revolution of February had established for me with the leaders of every different party the character of being at least an attentive observer of political events. I trust they believed me to be sincerely anxious for the welfare of the country where I was residing, for the purpose of cultivating amicable relations on the part of my own Sovereign, and convinced that the more happy and contented, according to

her own views, our nearest neighbour was, the better must it always be for us.

I think I might appeal with confidence to any one of the eight different Foreign Ministers with whom I had to deal during the three remaining years of my official career in France, after the period at which I conclude these records, that all their impressions derived from their communications with me were in accordance with the maintenance on my part of these feelings towards their country. The unreserved intercourse thus founded, led to many confidential communications, in which I sometimes had to express dissent, or even disapproval; but I believe any one of these gentlemen would bear witness that I always viewed all internal questions in France in a French point of view, and in any opinion I ventured to give when asked, tried to consider what was best under the existing institutions of the country, with a view to the modification of evils arising from a form of government with which I had no sympathy, but which it was the interest of all should be fairly tried. Within certain limits, the impartial judgment of a foreigner, in times of excitement, may not be without its utility; but these limits once passed, interference becomes impertinent presumption.

Confidential communications are of two very distinct kinds: those which are conveyed under the intimation that they are to be so considered;

and these retain that character through all lapse of time and change of circumstances ; nor do I conceive, as some do, that the obligation of secrecy is at all dissolved by the death of the confiding party : it must be by the absorption of all temporary or personal feelings in the eternal interests of Truth, that History alone can be allowed to deal with such materials without reserve ; but there are other private and personal communications which are only temporarily of a confidential character. In the daily intercourse founded on mutual intimacy and esteem, that which is soon after published as an act, is first notified as an intention ; as such it is offered for comment, if not for counsel. It may often be an advantage, as I believe it will be found here, that the future judgment on the conduct of public men should be assisted by the possession of a record, from no unfriendly pen, of their own statements made at the time by those public men, in explanation, if not in justification, of their acts. I sincerely believe that M. de Lamartine, for instance, will be more favourably judged by the language which it will be here found he at different times used to me, than by what some months later he said for himself, which was certainly, as History, premature, in which stubborn illusions still struggled against daily accumulating contradictions, the logical force of which was made the more apparent by the very candour of his admissions. Graphic and attractive as that pen had always been in recording the deeds

of others, there was an awkwardness, which all his literary skill could not conquer, in dealing with a certain Lamartine in the third person, whose quasi identity with the writer was abjured in form, but always recurring to the reader. He could not himself say all that he well deserved should be said of him, and yet he was obliged to say more than perfect taste willingly accepted from himself. Any one else would have felt it his duty to give a more vivid description of the courage, self-devotion, and commanding talents, which, during three days, struggled almost alone to save society from spoliation, anarchy, and bloodshed. No hero ever lost so much by choosing to be his own historian. I had known M. de Lamartine intimately in times long past, amongst the very scenes from which I am now writing, when he, equally with myself, thought more of Belles-Lettres and the Fine Arts than of either making or checking revolution, and the feelings of personal good-will then established were revived from the first moment when political events brought us into daily intercourse.

The results of that intercourse, as, in one shape or other, it was generally recorded within the next few hours, are here collected and given to the world without any subsequent addition. Even if I were not convinced that everything recorded as passing between M. de Lamartine and myself was entirely to his honour and credit, any scruple of mine would be removed by the same details as to

the internal disorganisation of the Provisional Government having been so very shortly afterwards published by himself in a work in which he, in a manner so gratifying to me, alludes to these very conversations :— “ Mais les conversations quotidiennes de l’Ambassadeur d’Angleterre, Lord Normanby, avec le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, et la cordialité sans reticences de leurs rapports, faisaient de l’Ambassadeur français à Londres une superfluité ; ” and in another place :— “ Ces négociations verbales entre hommes qui s’interrogent, et s’ouvrent leur cœur, sur le théâtre même des évènements, avancent plus de choses que des notes échangées à distance pendant des années de négociations ; le papier n’a pas de cœur, la parole en a ; le cœur est pour quelque chose même dans la négociation des grands intérêts des empires.” If the subsequent pages show that I shared with the vast majority of the millions who had voted for the person who thus expressed himself the bitter disappointment felt at his unexpected perversion of the influence they had conferred upon him, I do not record that opinion in phrases one jot more strong than those I took the privilege of an old friend to use at the time.

The consequence of M. Lamartine’s sudden change of policy was inevitable : the weak and divided Government he had insisted upon constructing, went floundering on from one mistake to another, till driven from power as utterly incapable to deal with

that insurrection of which their mismanagement had allowed the development; and he who alone had prophesied, and in no small degree had produced, a "revolution de mépris," in spite of his brilliant qualities and invaluable services, fell in undistinguishable obloquy, side by side with those whose acts had produced what was universally felt to be a *réaction de mépris*. There was much injustice in this. The feeling with regard to Lamartine was aggravated by the bitter disappointment of general expectation; but in its extent it was unmerited, and in its exaggerated demonstration ungrateful; no one would look back at what he *had* done; all was forgotten but what was called his unworthy surrender of the Assembly to Ledru-Rollin.

I am glad to think that with those who can find a spare moment to read these memoirs, tardy but deserved justice will be done to his great services; and that the faithful and detailed recital of all that passed between us will leave upon the reader the impression that he was an honest man, of extraordinary abilities, of dauntless personal courage, who, placed in circumstances of unparalleled difficulty, deserved well of France and of society; who, at a critical moment, took one false step, which was summarily punished, in precisely the way most painful to a man of such high patriotic aspirations,—by permanent injury to the position his name will occupy in the history of his country. The certainty of this result seemed to every one

but himself so obvious, that it may indeed vouch for the disinterestedness of his suicidal error.

Opposed in every respect, except in those good intentions common to both, was the character of the distinguished man with whom I had most intimate personal relations upon every variety of political question during the latter half of the year 1848.

With General Cavaignac, I had not even the slightest previous acquaintance. The first time I ever saw him, except at a distance in the National Assembly, was at a very early hour on the morrow of the fiercest internecine struggle that had ever defaced the homes and desolated the hearths of the gayest capital in the world. In the midst of the first moments of repose that the general had snatched in his temporary quarters at the hotel of the National Assembly, I was taken by the then Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Bastide, to express my sense of the inestimable service he had rendered to civilisation and humanity. I found the natural satisfaction at having been so highly instrumental in such a cause, struggling against the feeling that within the last few hours had fallen, under his orders, some of the most valued of his former companions in arms.

In this insurrection against a democratic Republic of their own recent creation,—with a blank in their banners, for they had no watchword they could avow,—with wholesale murder as their means and

spoliation for their object, the *prolétaires* of Paris had, during those bloody days, slain more general officers than had often fallen in a pitched battle between mighty empires.

The General received with evident satisfaction the heartfelt congratulations of one who, though unacknowledged and unaccredited, stood before him as the *de facto* representative of a neighbouring state specially interested in the triumph of social order. From that first interview I think I may date the feelings of mutual regard which enabled those who certainly had no previous political sympathy to understand each other through the various complicated and anxious negotiations of the next six months.

Upon these I feel that the time is not yet come when I can say one word. Complete reserve is still required, when every step then taken between France and England had necessarily its influence, more or less direct, upon the future of other states. But this much, without alluding to the diplomatic acts of General Cavaignac, I may say, in justice to his personal character, that, very early in our conferences, he came to a complete understanding with me that, in the then state of the world without, and under the still threatening pressure of those social perils, from which he had just saved his country, nothing short of the imperative claims of national honour should induce him to send a French army across the frontiers, which, once

there, must inevitably commence a warfare of propagandism.

My task for months was to maintain this resolution. I had everything against my success, except the General's stern sense of duty; and I think I may add, (as assisting much to maintain the views I urged), the ineffaceable impression made upon his mind by the horrors of June, and the proof he thence derived that, if at such a moment and on such an errand he once let slip the dogs of war, it would not be so easy to modify or control their destructive instincts. In spite of the assurances of Government officials, always so profusely lavished on the authority of the moment, he felt from the first the prolongation of his power to be doubtful. Yet the maintenance of that power was the only chance for the stability of the republic to which he was so much attached. It might have been difficult for any extent of anti-republican opinion at that time to displace a successful general, who had just saved society, *if actually engaged in extending the influence of France in a foreign war*. I am aware that all these considerations were constantly pressed upon him by those to whom he gave his habitual confidence; yet, having once taken his position on the foreign questions of vital interest side by side with England as represented by myself, I never could trace the slightest wavering on his part in his adherence to that which he conceived to be his duty.

I would, in conclusion, revert to some of the causes of the signal failure of the Republican attempt made in France in 1848. In the first place, the fair play which Europe wisely gave to the experiment, deprived it of all the support which it might have derived from national susceptibility.

The absurd theories and the contradictory actions of the leaders of the movement, were therefore judged by the French people, without any source of collateral favour; and I believe here, as elsewhere, the people have too much good sense not to see that their constant and direct interference in the machine of Government, is a burden to themselves and an embarrassment to progress. A Republic founded nominally by the people, and professedly in their interest, was in France repudiated by the people themselves. This public opinion struggled forth even through the first elections of the Constituent Assembly, amid many temporary impediments. M. Lamartine has published to the world, "La République est une surprise," — that very "surprise" paralysed the ill-directed exertions of many. Another member of the Provisional Government, as will be seen in the following pages, proclaimed as his system "La terreur moins la guillotine." This last precarious source of power was still in full force, yet in spite of these and many other disadvantages, the composition of that assembly was a practical protest against the object for which it was summoned. Six months

more of disappointment gave to the feeling of the country a more unmistakable expression, and on the 10th of December, in the election of the President of the Republic, the first exercise of the power forced upon the Sovereign People, was on their part its *de facto* abdication, and with the date of that event I shall close for the present my Historical Review.

The line I have prescribed to myself is to stop short of any incident which can have the slightest connexion with the present state of things in France. The time may certainly come, when it may not be uninteresting to have a detailed history of all that passed during the next three years in that country, its internal struggles and foreign relations through that uncertain period. I have the conviction, that from the intimate relations which I maintained with the principal parties to the event then occurring, no one has such ample materials for their recital; and I have the consciousness that, after comparing many different sources of information then open to me, I endeavoured to form an impartial judgment; but, in all human probability, circumstances will prevent my giving these further records publicity during the natural limits of my own existence.

I take the true rule to be, that contemporaneous memoirs can only assume the character of History when they steer clear of unfinished events almost of existing interests; and this restriction is not one that

can be assessed by any fixed number of intervening years. The concluding portion of the reign of Louis-Philippe — its system, its agents, and its interests,—as well as the short-lived revolutionary governments which succeeded it, have now no more connexion with the world in which we are living than if they had flourished and passed away in the year 1789 instead of the year 1848. But the lesson to be derived from the catastrophe and its consequences is of all time and of universal application.

However obsolete the interests and intrigues of the previous period, however ephemeral the power which supplanted it, it is not salutary that the active influence for good or for evil should be entirely forgotten; and it is with this feeling strongly impressed upon my mind that these pages are offered to the public.

Villa Normanby, Florence.

ERRATA IN VOL. I.

- Page 5, line 9 from bottom, for "European Powers," read "European system"
" 9, line 17, for "repeating" read "recording"
" 11, line 11, for "disclosures" read "disclosure"
" 56, line 13 from bottom, for "l'eyrouset" read "Peyronnet"
" 128, line 3, for "remove" read "renew"
" 192, line 12, for "return" read "retired"
" 243, last two lines, for "le drapeau de l'Irlande," read "le drapeau d'Irlande,"
" 198, line 19, for "Billay" read "Bellay." In the foot note, for "Subervie" read "Subervic"
" 317, line 12, *delete* "but"
" 361, line 5, for "which" read "that"
" 392, line 14, for "Legoussé" read "Degoussé"

J O U R N A L,

&c.

VOL. I.

B

JOURNAL

or

A YEAR OF REVOLUTION.

DURING the course of the month of July, 1847, many circumstances had occurred, which had seemed to strengthen my unwilling conviction that we were upon the eve of a great convulsion in France.

I had collected and noted down from day to day accumulating indications which combined to confirm this impression. Some of the facts were thus irregularly recorded merely for my own future reference; others formed the materials for the constant and speedy information it was necessary to forward to the Government at home. When these scattered forebodings assumed a more vivid character, from my close observation of the state of the people's feeling during the three days of the anniversary of July, I did not delay four and twenty hours to record in a more permanent form

the grounds of my gloomy anticipations; and from the *r  sum  * here given of my opinions seven months before the event, it will be seen, that if the revolution of February took the world in general by surprise,—if the public in England could hardly believe it possible till it had actually occurred,—it did not find me wholly unprepared for its unwelcome advent.

This preliminary retrospect, bearing the date of a national anniversary, partakes more of the character of a summary of the preceding year than of the nature of a journal; and it is almost the only portion of these volumes which is here given nearly in the form in which it was at the time made the subject of official communication. Of course, when constant correspondence is going on simultaneously with the entries of a daily journal, in relating the same events they must sometimes be recorded in nearly the same terms; but it will be found that a considerable proportion of the matters here treated were not of a character adapted to official dispatches, whilst, on the other hand, as I have already stated in the Introduction, I have omitted every thing of a diplomatic character which could in the slightest degree involve any allusion to the views of the Government I was serving.

July 30. 1847.

THE return of the anniversary of the revolution of 1830, and the commencement of a new year of the dynasty of July, is coincident with the virtual conclusion of the session of 1847; and therefore appears to me to be a fitting occasion to execute what I feel, under the circumstances, to be a necessary task, and as concisely as is consistent with the magnitude of the subject to collect and arrange the result of my observations, as to the influence which the events of the last few months, both in and out of the Chambers, are likely to exercise upon the permanence of that settlement made now seventeen years ago.

I wish I could arrive at any other conclusion than this, that a very great shock has been given to public confidence in the future duration of a government which (however precarious its original foundation) has latterly been accepted as a settled member of the European Powers. It is not only on international grounds that one should regret any further confusion in France, the shock of which must be felt in every part of the civilised circle; but I really believe, in the present state of society in this country, and putting the dangers of the struggle out of the question, no change for the better would be likely to result from such a struggle. It should be recollectcd, that at no

period since its first establishment did the present system seem so firmly rooted as when last the annual celebration of the three days took place. And judging merely from outward appearances it would have seemed impossible that so complete a reaction should so suddenly have occurred. But the surprise so excited will, to a certain extent, be diminished, if one examines the real operating causes which produced what was called the great Conservative majority of 1846. Every succeeding month has tended to confirm the result of my observations — that there exists in the present state of France no attachment to any individual, and no respect for any institution; but that the system has been maintained by its identification with the material interests of the middle classes. "Enrichessez-vous" has long been said to be the paternal admonition addressed from the throne to the people. As long as this was directed to the regular protection of industry and capital, by the general maintenance of order, there could not be a more solid foundation of power. But the very strength of all governments may be made their weakness if overstrained or perverted; and this was remarkably the case in the last elections, when the mania for speculation was made the instrument of political corruption. It is impossible for any one who has not lived in France, during the last twelve months, and who, having witnessed the gradual development of effects, has not made it his

duty to inquire back into many of the details of the causes, to form any idea of the extent to which the abuse of ministerial patronage and influence in connexion with public works—and more especially with railroads—was made to act upon the elections. Circumstances had given the Ministers an unusual power in this respect. The French people, in the course of their universal pursuit of wealth, had become painfully alive to their inferiority, not only to England but to the greater portion of central Europe, in the appreciation of improved means of internal communication. An honest government would have availed itself, for good purposes, of this national impatience, which placed at their command any resources they chose to ask for this object; and would have founded upon it some well-considered system, on the efficient execution of which must, for the future, so much depend the place their country will hold in the race of civilisation. But they perverted it to the maintenance of their own official power, by the purchase of votes; and having succeeded in rejecting the proposal in the Chambers for the limitation; in the first instance, to the central trunks, which would have restricted the possibility of jobbing, there was hardly a corner of France to which a Ministerial candidate did not present himself with the most extravagant promises of what was to be done for the district, through the intervention of the Minister. This new arm, thus placed in the hands

of power, did not induce the skilful agents of the system, on that account, to neglect the more ordinary means of corruption ; and the result was the election of a Chamber, the members of which, in point of fact, gave their personal faith to the future promises of the Minister rather than their general adhesion to his past policy. I should perhaps here remark, that the collateral effect of this tendency of men's minds at the time of the elections was to prevent any outcry upon that which had been not long before a popular cry, viz., the attachment of the Government to the English alliance. I have often reason to think that it was not the English alliance which made M. Guizot unpopular, but his own personal unpopularity, which had its influence upon public opinion as to that alliance. Be this as it may, the railroads, to which at that time every one was looking, not only as a source of national wealth, but of personal aggrandisement, were all expected to be assisted by English capital, and in some instances to be directed by English enterprise ; any national susceptibility was therefore laid aside. There was also another incident which no doubt exercised some effect in our favour with a people so bent on the acquisition of riches. For the first time it had been declared in the English Parliament by the Minister, that he would make such reductions in our tariff as were thought desirable — without any regard to reciprocity. I cannot pretend that the French people

either understood or adopted our theory, or intended to follow our example, or had any confidence in its steady application by ourselves; but they thought it might be of some immediate advantage to themselves, and they could not deny that it was disinterested. It therefore seemed with many to dispel a too general prejudice that our interests in the internal welfare of a people are simply in proportion to their importation of cotton and hardware.

Such was the state of things in this country when I arrived, not quite a twelve month since, and such were the sentiments entertained towards the English alliance. The Government, which had made it its watchword, having been confirmed in power after an appeal to the people, I had at that time an opportunity of repeating the remarkable expressions with which his Majesty Louis-Philippe seemed to mark the personal value he attached to that alliance. Within a week from that day I was made the medium of conveying to my Government the astounding announcement of the Spanish marriages—an event which I still think must indirectly exercise a permanent effect upon the future destinies of this country. It is, however, only necessary so far to refer here to its effects upon the relations between the two countries, as to remark, that the diplomatic correspondence to which it gave rise seemed so far to have monopolised the attention of the French Government,

that they met the Chambers utterly unprepared with any other plan whatsoever connected with the conduct of the general affairs of the country. This, which was obvious at the time to every impartial observer, is now owned by the only journal (the "Journal des Débats") which acts as the organ of the Government; and yet to any one not even possessing the smallest pretensions to the character of a statesman, there seemed to have been peculiar reasons for caution and foresight as to the manner in which they ought to have met the new Parliament. The complete rupture of the English alliance had caused wide-spread uneasiness to that class who looked to it as a security for their material interests. A visitation of Providence, in modern days unexampled in its extent—I mean the famine of 1846—had disordered the financial position of the best regulated states, but here it had aggravated the confusion which careless management and universal jobbing had prepared. The Government found themselves entirely unable to realise any of the election promises made by the candidates; and as the disappointment of personal expectations or local favours is not less deeply felt, though not so loudly proclaimed, as the forfeiture of political pledges, so to this source may be traced much of the alienation of many of the men who composed the majority. It is right, however, to state that there were also in this majority many honest men who were disgusted by their in-

sincerity, and convinced of their incapacity as Ministers. I need not now recur to the singular expedient of the selfish sacrifice of three of their colleagues, for not having successfully developed departmental plans, which it is now acknowledged the collective Government never settled or even considered. It is sufficient to remark that the remainder of the session has proved their three successors not more efficient than those who were displaced. The great incident which has produced the most painful sensation has been the disclosures made with respect to official corruption. And the coincidence between some of the facts proved at the Luxembourg and those stifled at the Palais Bourbon by a convenient majority, induced the public to draw no distinction between the Ministers and their late colleagues, and to believe in the universality of these offences. It is not surprising when the worship of money has been prescribed as a substitute for any other political creed, that its votaries should sometimes carry their idolatry to excess, and that those who exercise power through the corruption of others should themselves be corrupt. But whether the sentiment thus produced is exaggerated or not, it exists from one end of France to the other, and men's minds are just in a state to produce, should the occasion arise, that which M. de Lamartine somewhat tersely terms "une révolution de mépris."

The natural resource in a constitutional Government would seem to be to change the instruments of power, when so much of the odium is concentrated upon those who at present exercise it; but many reasons combine for the time to impede this temporary solution of the difficulty. I have good reason for knowing no one not at present in power would again take office without coming to a distinct understanding with the King as to the proper limitations of the relative functions of a constitutional sovereign and his responsible Ministers. This understanding could not be obtained from the King except under the pressure of necessity; and therefore it is that the different leaders of opposition have taken, perhaps, too little part lately in order to avoid the appearance of seeking office — a contingency which might bring matters to a disadvantageous issue. The King has some suspicions on this head, and is therefore anxious to maintain his present Ministers if possible, whilst he obtains from their weakness personal objects which would otherwise be opposed. Thus he has pressed, and it is said has obtained, the nomination of the Duc d'Aumale to the governor-generalship of Algeria, with the intention hereafter of changing the appointment into a vice-royalty. He is also much occupied with the present state of affairs in Spain, and should any catastrophe occur in that country, would rejoice to have in his service the only public

man* who shares his feelings with regard to the Spanish marriages, and who is thoroughly committed to his policy with regard to them. It may appear strange, that in the present state of the country, of which they are thoroughly aware, any Ministers should choose to incur the responsibilities of office during the next few months, without the prospect of being able to weather the first shock in the Chambers next session. The position of the two leading members of the Government is as different as their characters are opposite, and therefore it has been supposed that M. Guizot is the one who has influenced his colleagues to cling on to the last. M. Guizot feels that his only chance for the future is in the occurrence of some new event which may alter the present channel of public opinion. His one great talent—that of the tribune—must lose its value if he has no one subject on which he can successfully appeal, either to the principles, the sympathies, or the interests of his auditors. I have been told by those who know him well, that he is comparatively ignorant of the details of administration, or of the bearings of any commercial or financial question, on a clear view of which, in time of peace, the relative value of statesmen must depend. In all these respects he is said to be completely dependent on his connexion with M. Duchâtel, who, on the other hand, is personally popular, successful in dealing with men,

* Guizot.

and unrivalled in his aptitude for affairs, though the peculiar facilities he possesses are neutralized by an overpowering and increasing indolence. His health being also much shaken, he would have liked temporary repose, being always sure of some political position hereafter; but he has been over-persuaded that a resignation at this moment would have an awkward appearance. With his large fortune and careless habits, no one suspects him of personal corruption. He has, however, yielded to the wishes of M. Guizot, who exercises over him that ascendancy which in public affairs always belongs to a strong will over a weak one. Such being the disposition of the Sovereign and his Ministers, with whom during the recess the matter rests, I do not expect that there will be any change of Government, even should the resignation of Marshal Soult furnish an occasion for it; but that, on the contrary, M. Guizot will be gratified for a few months with the Presidency of the Council, to which title he is said to look with an almost childish ambition.

In the mean time the finances of the country are daily getting into a state of more intricate confusion, whilst those classes on whose support the Government had hitherto principally relied, on the ground of its ensuring them a due care of their own comforts, are sinking deeper and deeper in embarrassment, many of them just at the moment when they expected a great increase of fortune from some

of their extravagant schemes, the failure of which they in part attribute (in consequence of the inquiries as well as discoveries made) to an undue share of the spoil having been corruptly appropriated by those in power.

It was with men's minds in this state that the revolving days of July, now just over, induced the inquiry of what they had gained by the revolution of 1830. The recent prostitution of the majority in the Chamber of Deputies to screen the corruption of the Ministry, had directed public attention afresh to this branch of the legislature. It is known that it is elected but by an infinitesimal portion of the vast population of France ; that the Colleges are so divided as to assume the character of rotten boroughs ; whilst civic duties, such as service in the National Guard, are gratuitously exacted from thousands of respectable persons who have no political franchise. In every majority in / the Chambers more than one half has been composed of public functionaries. The introduction of fresh topics is so trammeled, and all freedom of speech so restricted, by the rules of both houses, as to take from the proceedings that forensic development which in really free states has often enabled the Truth to struggle on against hostile majorities. At this moment the Mayors of the Communes are at the command of Government forbidding the Deputies to meet their constituents at political dinners, even within doors; a step either pro-

ducing needless irritation or showing an ominous necessity. As to the freedom of the press, a curious example of its state has been furnished within the last few days. The newspaper the "Courier Français" brings forward a new case of corruption against members of the Ministry. The Editor desires to be tried so as to have the power of proving the truth and to be punished if he fails. Instead of this, an individual, whose name is mentioned as one of the parties involved, cites him before the Correctional Police for slander. In this Tribunal there is no publicity; the truth is not sifted, and there is no jury to decide; and yet the Minister of Justice, when questioned in the Chamber of Peers, says they ought to be satisfied, as the whole matter is before a court of law. Considerations of foreign policy exercise a very different degree of influence upon public opinion in this country, and in England much dissatisfaction has been felt at the abandonment, for merely dynastic objects, of useful alliances to which those most interested in the permanence of the present system were attached, certainly not by sentiment, but from the feeling of security they gave. And still more uneasiness has been expressed that the Government should have sought new strength in the sympathies of those absolute Powers who at this moment are endeavouring, by threats of force, to repress peaceable movements in favour of liberal reforms in different parts of Europe. Such are a few of the many grievances

which are now producing political excitement from one end of France to the other.

I shall, in conclusion, say a few words on the present position of the depositaries of power in this country, and of the different feelings towards them among the different classes of society. I feel it to be a delicate matter to comment upon the personal character of the King, and I willingly pass by without notice the popular opinion with reference to his Majesty. With the exaggerated expectations that accompanied the mode of his elevation to the throne, it was not possible but that, in his position, disappointment must be the result; however, it is a fact, upon which I make no observation, exercising considerable influence upon the present state of affairs, that such has been his conduct, in turn, towards every statesman whom the system has produced, that there is not one at this moment who retains the slightest faith in his sincerity. The middle class in society, by whom the compromise of 1830 was imagined and maintained, soon lost many illusions as to its political effect, and were for some time consoled by the material advantages which comparative tranquillity brought with it. But having been stimulated, for party purposes, into extravagant speculations, they are now become disaffected upon the complete failure of these hollow expectations, and in this state of feeling revert to the political deception which they say has throughout been practised. Neither of the extremes of

society ever viewed the revolution of July with favourable eyes. There exists but a shadow of an aristocracy, with broken fortunes and without privileges; but some of the old French spirit is still to be found. Country retirement in their own land has done more for them than exile in foreign parts formerly did. Many of them exercise a most beneficial influence in their own neighbourhood, and when they come to Paris they are still the fraction of society the most distinguished for varied acquirements and cultivated tastes. In the clubs, amongst all the young men, and in the principal salons, the tone in general is hostile to the present state of things. This is shown amongst the more lively by open ridicule of the Court, and with the most respectable by marked alienation from it. To turn from this to a much more serious quarter from which this system is threatened: I will not repeat all the vague rumours as to the spread of Communism, but merely mention one fact, which shows that a dread on this subject has reached even the more orderly amongst the republicans as well as the Government. The Préfet de Police, on the last day of the fêtes, received intelligence that M. Marrast, the editor of the "National," with some of the theoretical republicans, had held a meeting with some of the chiefs amongst the Communists, and had persuaded them not to venture any outbreak upon the occasion of these fêtes,—ostensibly because the time was not come, but

really from a dread of the objects professed amongst these classes. I have heard another fact which is of serious import. There has been withdrawn from the savings' banks of Paris, within the last nine months, 16,000,000 of francs. Under all these circumstances, it is not surprising that the anniversary of the "three glorious days" should have struck me as a popular fête without any popular feeling. It is a commemoration of that which is felt by those collected to celebrate it to have been a mockery, a periodical rejoicing at that which is treated as the source of perpetual disappointment. I have mixed with crowds in all parts of the world, of all colours as well as of all tempers, and I never saw so little joyous a mass as those amongst whom I mingled at different periods during the three days. This, recollecting the acknowledged constitutional gaiety of the French character, is the more remarkable. I felt it to be a subject for serious reflection when, on the last night, at the time of the splendid fireworks from the Place Louis Quinze, I stood in that square, so fruitful in fearful recollections, every part crowded with thousands, who evidently had no sympathy with the rejoicings on the present occasion, and who might soon exercise so dark and doubtful an influence over the future.

I am, however, not one of those who take the most desponding view of that future. I still think that if a change of men was accompanied by timely reforms, and by a thorough purification of the

channels of administration, the very alarm at the designs of others, to which I have alluded, might induce many to rally round the framework of the present constitution who would otherwise in theory go further. But then these reforms, to be successful, must be prompt and sincere. There are other reasons which may temporarily postpone any catastrophe without in the same way removing the predisposing causes. The present bounteous harvest may remove immediate pressure from all parties. The army is numerous, well disciplined, and as yet said to be well disposed ; but this must be the last resource of a dynasty which sprang from a popular insurrection : should the movement of the people be general, the throne only defended by the troops, one knows that the ultimate result must be either anarchy or military despotism ; and, in either case, the system, which struggled into life within the barricades, would leave to posterity no other monument than the fortifications with which it has surrounded Paris.

J O U R N A L.

THE notes now given to the public begin at the period of my return to Paris from England, where I had been to attend the opening of the new Parliament.

The entries were somewhat irregularly kept and were of very unequal length, depending in this respect not so much upon the interest of the incidents to which they refer as upon the relative want of time for entering into details. Whilst, therefore, on the one hand, will be here found some of the original materials from which I selected the matter for regular communications, on the other, I have occasionally engrafted such portions of those documents bearing the same date as seemed necessary to make the narrative complete. With regard to the whole, the reader will have the kindness to remember that any opinions here given were formed at the moment upon passing events, and have in no instance been corrected by reference to ultimate results. In this consists the essential difference between a journal and history.

CHAPTER I.

RUMOURS OF THE "SALLE DES PAS PERDUS."—STATE OF THE MINISTRY.—THE KING'S HEALTH.—POLITICAL PROSPECTS.—CONDUCT OF M. GUIZOT.—DEATH OF THE PRINCESS ADELAIDE.—BEHAVIOUR OF THE DEPUTIES ON THE OCCASION OF THE ADDRESS OF CONDOLENCE.—THE REFORM BANQUETS AND THE LINE TAKEN BY THE GOVERNMENT RESPECTING THEM.—NUMBER OF ELECTORS IN FRANCE.—ABANDONMENT OF THE ELECTORAL DUTY.—CORRUPT PRACTICES FOR THE FIRST TIME CHARGED AGAINST THE FIRST MINISTER OF THE CROWN.—SPEECH OF M. ODILON BARROT.—ITS EFFECT ON M. GUIZOT AND ON THE HOUSE.—MAGNIFICENT SPEECH OF M. THIERS.—DEFENCE OF M. GUIZOT IN THE "MONITEUR."—STATE OF PUBLIC FEELING.—DOCTRINES OF M. HEBERT.—CONFUSION IN THE CHAMBER.—DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS.—METHOD OF VOTING OF GOVERNMENT FUNCTIONARIES.—INDIGNATION OF THE OPPOSITION.—AFFECTIONATE INDIFFERENCE OF THE FIRST MINISTER.—POSITION OF THE LIBERALS.—CONVERSATION WITH M. GUIZOT.

Dec. 20. 1847.

I REMEMBER, from the experience of last year, that during the few days immediately preceding the meeting of the Chambers, it is peculiarly unsafe to trust too much to reports current in what are called "well-informed circles." As soon as the "Salle des Pas perdus" is open,—that place where gossips "most do congregate," and where the Parisian Deputies first see their colleagues from the country, it is of course not in the national

character to meet their inquiries with the confession that they know nothing,— and the vague guesses of the superficial and self-sufficient, accepted as facts by the credulous, are at once propagated through Paris. I do not, therefore, attach much credit to the rumours of an immediate break-up of the Ministry, any more than the opposite “*on dit*” of an imminent *coup d'état*; but the preliminary consultations of the members collected from different parts of the country may at least be supposed to regulate their own internal concerns; and it is understood to have been arranged that every fraction of the Chamber of Deputies, opposed to the policy of the present Government, should unite in supporting M. Dupin as President of the Chamber, in opposition to M. Sauzet, the successful ministerial candidate of last session. The “Journal des Débats” yesterday announced officially, that defeat upon that point would entail the resignation of the Cabinet. The ministerial organ also announced the same consequence from the re-election of M. Léon de Maleville, who was elected Vice-President by a majority of one, upon a vacancy in the course of last session, when a part of the majority wished to show their discontent with the Government.

It is rather a bold step on the part of the Ministers to stake their existence on the exclusion of M. de Maleville, as their opposition is based upon his presence at some of the Reform banquets, which

have created so strong a popular sensation throughout the country; on the other hand, I believe upon one of those occasions M. de Maleville made rather an indiscreet speech.

It is impossible, until the Deputies are arrived at Paris, to say what will be the result of these elections, which are the only ones in the Chambers still conducted by "le scrutin secret." All contingent speculations are stopped by a general belief in the report I have heard that the King is seriously — some say dangerously — ill.

Dec. 24.

The alarm with respect to the King's health seems to have subsided: the fact I take it to have been that his Majesty has merely been suffering from one of those severe colds which are as prevalent here as in London. Upon such occasions, of course reports are various and contradictory; by some it is still assumed that the seizure at first affected his Majesty's head in a way that was alarming, whilst others do not scruple to affirm that the extent of the illness has been even exaggerated, because his Majesty has been advised for other reasons not to open the Session in person! Be this as it may, there is no longer any idea that

the regular course of legislative business, whether inaugurated by his Majesty in person or not, will be interrupted by an event always anticipated with dread, but which at this moment would be fraught with danger.

To revert, therefore, to the political prospects in the first trial of party strength, it appears that after it was understood that a reconciliation, at least for the moment, had taken place between M. Guizot and M. Duchâtel, the intention of contesting seriously the question of the Presidency of the Chamber was abandoned, principally on account of M. Dupin declining to become an ostensible candidate.

Dec. 31.

I must say that the closing year leaves the fate of this great country shrouded in more ominous darkness than I had as yet brought myself to anticipate. The gathering clouds, too, assume a shape, and come from a quarter which threaten to envelope and obscure the future of the dynasty itself. The anxiety that was felt in the public mind, previous to the delivery of the Speech from the throne, to ascertain in what manner the foreign relations of this country would be treated, has for

the moment subsided without having been satisfied. All seem prepared to wait until the debates on the Address shall elicit the truth, and in the mean time not to notice the vague generalities contained in those phrases which tell nothing.

The public attention is for the present concentrated upon the last paragraph in the Speech; and I think I am justified by the experience of the last two days, in saying that the sentiment produced by the language placed in his Majesty's mouth, is that of profound affliction on the part of those who wish well to the permanence of the present institutions of the country. There are certainly those who, considering matters in a party or personal sense, view in these royal denunciations a skilful expedient for the temporary preservation of the Ministry. Upon the King and the Chamber of Deputies their immediate fate depends. An open declaration of the will of the sovereign, and an artful appeal to the suffrage of the majority, preserves them from present danger.

Seven weeks since, previous to my late absence in England, I observed, in detailing the progress of the Reform movement, that whatever its enduring influence might be, the proximate effect would probably be found in reuniting the conservative majority of the Chamber of Deputies on a resistance to that progress. This has been shown in the large numbers by which the Government have carried the candidates for the presidency and vice-presidencies.

Some imagine that their union, as a party, upon these points will not influence their opinions upon the questions of foreign policy shortly to be submitted to them, on which the language of all sides in private society is that of ridicule or reprobation of the conduct of M. Guizot. But we must recollect always, that whilst this majority was notoriously obtained by the grossest corruption amongst the electoral body, the individuals composing it, though they have hitherto performed their part of the bargain in steadily supporting the Government, are still in expectation of the repayment promised, in the shape of personal favours to themselves, and everything which renders it more impossible for the next administration to govern with the same Chamber, more effectually chains the majority to the ministerial car.

It has been M. Guizot's uniform desire to render the formation of another quasi-conservative ministry, after his fall, impossible; and the more inseparably he can connect this Chamber with his own unpopularity, the more difficult he makes it for his successor not to gratify the country by immediate dissolution. Now he is aware that in the present state of public opinion this is a step which M. Molé would not for a moment contemplate, and that even M. Thiers would be alarmed at the impulse that would thereby be given to the popular movement, and would wish to avoid being surrounded by the extreme opinions which would

probably prevail at elections following immediately upon the fall of the present Government. As far as his position in the Chamber is concerned, M. Guizot was wise in his generation in the unscrupulous use he made of his Majesty's present partiality for him, and of the weakness attributed to his Majesty of liking on all occasions, however inappropriate, to make a parade of his personal feelings, somewhat beyond the usual limits of constitutional sovereignty.

When his Majesty is therefore made to precede the strong expressions with which his Speech concludes with an allusion to his advanced age and his personal experience, it gave an individual character to the defiance uttered towards a considerable portion of his people, which, in my humble opinion, a faithful Minister would never have counselled. It is already operating out of doors in a manner disadvantageous to the dynasty, and I fear we shall find, has produced an equally mischievous effect in the provinces.

Feeling, as I must, how important to my own country, as well as to the peace of Europe, a tranquil succession to the throne of France in the present line must be, and personally attached to some individuals of the illustrious family whose interests are at stake, it was with feelings of pain I cannot describe, that I assisted at the spectacle of Tuesday last. The King's appearance was very much changed in the ten days which had elapsed since

I had seen his Majesty. This may be only temporary, as the disorder from which he had been suffering affects for the time the looks of much younger men, but it was melancholy to see his Majesty, with broken voice and evidently shaken strength, collecting all that remained to him of energy to denounce as enemies exactly that portion of his subjects who had, of their own choice, elevated him to the throne, and appealing to a temporary majority, which he must be convinced would not be renewed, against those whom he chose to taunt with blindness. It would seem, that the vocabulary might have furnished some more appropriate term than blindness for those who had just awakened from a long lethargy to the conviction that the revolution of July had not secured to them that practical liberty which its foundation contemplated, and who, bound together by no exclusive league or previous combination, had, by a course of simultaneous agitation, proposed to answer the assertion of the Ministers during last session that the country was indifferent to the development within the existing institutions of the cause of peaceful reform. It is true that the leaders of this movement acted injudiciously for their own object, as well as improperly, in consenting, on some of these occasions, to the omission of the health of the King as one of their toasts; but this was unfortunately but an indication of the tendency of the public feeling, which they had to regulate

and, if possible, moderate; and if the King had been wisely and honestly advised, this ought to have been an additional reason why his Majesty should not have put himself ostensibly forward on this occasion with any personal demonstration of feeling.

I had written thus much on the present position of affairs when news was brought me of the sudden death of Her Royal Highness the Princess Adelaïde. It appears that she had been far from well the last few days. The King went into her room last night about ten o'clock, when she stated she felt better, and wished to be allowed to sleep; from the asthma with which she was afflicted, she was accustomed to do so, during great part of the night, in her chair. Between twelve and one she was found insensible, and apparently as if she had choked with a cough upon first waking. She was partially recovered, and lingered for two hours more. All the Royal Family were with Her Royal Highness when she died, which was between three and four o'clock this morning. The King was in great agitation for some time; but when Guizot went to him at eight o'clock, he was asleep; and I have as yet heard nothing since. In the present critical state of this country, it is impossible at once to speculate upon the practical effect of this unexpected removal from the scene of the only person in the world from whom, I believe, the King, for many years, had

never concealed a project or even a thought. She read every paper, and went into the King's cabinet whenever she liked, sometimes as often as ten times in the course of the day. She is supposed to have listened more, but yielded less, than her brother.

At the same time I have heard from one who ought to know, that it would be a mistake to suppose that this calamity would affect the King to the extent of endangering his life. It is said there is only one thing which would do that — the loss of the Queen; that he has an idea she is his good genius, and that after her death there would be nothing for which to live, as everything would go wrong with him. This superstition the King has often repeated to those with whom he speaks confidentially. However, it is added, that Madame Adelaide would be an irreparable loss to him — that he never consulted the Queen about politics, but always told everything to his sister. Indeed it seems as if it must have been with some foreboding of this melancholy visitation that I commenced the records of this morning, by saying that darkly threatening and ominous of disaster to the House of Orleans were the last hours of the closing year.

Jan. 7. 1848.

There is always a certain pause here in the public proceedings of the Legislature after the delivery of the Royal Speech; and this year's interest has been diverted from the preparatory movements in the Palais Bourbon, to the fact, no doubt intended as a demonstration, that so many members absented themselves from the Tuileries on the occasion of the solemnity to which they were summoned upon the melancholy occasion of the death of the Princess Adelaïde. Great excitement had been produced in the public mind by the concluding paragraph of the Royal Speech, in which designs at least disloyal, if not traitorous, were attributed to certain parties who had assisted at the political demonstrations of the last few months. The impression excited, both on the part of those who supposed themselves implicated and of the majority, was, that it was a direct attack upon the proceedings of a portion of the assembly addressed; and the most devoted adherents of the Ministry already anticipated in the confirmation of this sentiment, by a concluding vote upon the Address, a triumph which would obliterate any previous difficulties the Government might have had as to the paragraphs on foreign politics.

The incident connected with the usual condolence, to which I have above alluded, occurred unexpectedly, and opened the eyes of all parties to the serious consequences of pushing matters to such extremities. Three days after the delivery of the speech, Madame Adelaïde died, and the Chamber of Deputies were at once summoned to present the usual address of condolence; upon this occasion more than one-third of the members absented themselves. Of the whole body of the Opposition, only eight or ten of the "centre Gauche" who had been Ministers, such as M. Thiers and M. Rémusat, attended. I have not been able to ascertain that this was matter of previous arrangement, for which, indeed, there had hardly been time; and so satisfied was each individual that this should remain a tacit but significant demonstration, that the fact was announced in none of the newspapers of the Opposition; and whilst the name of M. Odilon Barrot was erroneously mentioned in the "Journal des Débats" as present, the assertion remained uncontradicted. The effect, however, was not the less striking for not being publicly announced. I first heard the circumstance from M. Guizot himself. The majority then began to find out that it was as dangerous as undignified to call upon the King to stigmatise, personally, proceedings which the law confessedly could not punish, as otherwise the Ministers would have been unpardonable not to have preceded such a sentence

by an appeal to the courts of justice. The result was, that, in the different committees of the Chamber, the paragraph was much criticised and objected to by members of the majority; M. Guizot attempted to explain it away as best he might, as never having been meant to apply to any of the Chamber, and it is now understood that the responsive Paragraph of the Address is to be composed in a very different spirit; such will be the impotent conclusion of this unparalleled attempt against the established forms of all constitutional governments. It is reported, however, that in the Chamber of Peers, none of whose members attended the Reform banquets, M. de Barante, the Rappoiteur, will gratify the Ministers by re-echoing the bitterness of the Royal Speech. And here it is, in a locality so comparatively favourable to Ministers, that the first explanation will be given, and the tone of the discussion originated. As the Ministers are obliged officially to attend both Chambers, the debates on the Address cannot be begun by the Deputies till they are finished at the Luxembourg.

Jan. 20.

I cannot say that the manner in which the Chamber of Peers have hitherto dealt with the topics of the Address has been of a character to

redeem, by the personal qualifications of the members, the indifference as to their proceedings, founded upon the want of independence in the constitution of a body chosen by the Crown for life.

The line taken by the French Government upon the subject of the popular demand for Reform is a very peculiar one. M. Duchâtel, in his short speech in the Chamber of Peers, did not affect to defend the present system; and when a member of the Opposition, M. Cousin, stated that he had understood the Ministers not to oppose Reform upon principle, but to object to the period of the legislation at which it was brought forward, M. Duchâtel acquiesced by his silence to this interpretation. He had, however, stated that, if possible, he would not allow any such proposition to be even discussed at present; nor would he hold out any hopes as to its future consideration. This is, therefore, the course that it must be presumed will be adopted in the Chamber of Deputies, where it appears to me it will hardly be sustainable in argument, though it may be successful in result, as it is evidently a direct appeal to the interests of the majority. It is said there,—“If the proposition of Reform be carried, a dissolution must follow; and we wish to govern with you, and through you, for some time longer.” This, after all, is an insidious appeal to the personal interests and selfish feelings of their supporters upon just the point where those interests are identical with their own; it amounts to an

attempt to govern by an expiring majority, which can never be renewed, since, whenever the change does take place, the inevitable result of gratifying the popular demand must be to remove that majority.

I am informed that the number of electors at present in France is only 140,000; less, therefore, than the number by which about one-tenth of the British House of Commons are returned by the most popular constituencies. But it is said here, that even this number is more than take any interest in the proceedings; and one of the best informed speakers of the majority of the Chamber of Peers asserted, in proof of this fact, that the Chamber of Deputies was returned by only 40,000 actual voters. Thus the opinion of the whole of this immense and populous kingdom is to be ascertained from a smaller number of electors than voted in the course of last summer for what is commonly called the metropolitan district in England,—the capital, with its divisional boroughs and its adjacent counties.

The abandonment in France of the electoral duty upon the last occasion was a proof of political torpor, which can hardly have been traced to general contentment, and was, if rightly construed, an ominous symptom in a country where changes *have been* effected by less regular methods than the elective franchise; the proceedings of the last autumn, of which the Government complains, show

that this circumstance had not its origin in permanent indifference.

In conversation with different members of the Government, I find that they are disposed to place the justification of so great a difference in the numerical amount of the electoral body here and in England upon the want in this country of any counteracting checks to the popular will. The destruction of all aristocracy may, as they say, tend, as a necessary consequence, to the suppression of the democracy; but then what remains, except the arbitrary will of the Sovereign, or the more degrading influence of the bureaucracy? and, in point of fact, the present system in France is to maintain the personal Government of the King through the corruption exercised by every class of public functionaries. For the first time this principle is about to be boldly and unscrupulously attacked in the Chamber of Deputies; and the next few weeks must show how far it can stand the action upon public opinion, caused by the vigorous attacks that will be made from the tribune.

Jan. 22.

More scandal! and the sensation produced by this last exposure has been much more profound,

since, to the surprise of every one, it directly involved the obvious participation of the First Minister of the Crown. The personal integrity of M. Guizot had, next to his oratorical superiority, been the theme upon which his supporters had distinguished him above his fellows. Great, therefore, was the shock to his reputation as an unimpeachable minister, when he was found actually engaged in a system of bartering patronage for money; not patronage connected with his own department, but dabbling in its general corrupt disposal for political ends. Nor was the effect diminished by the fact that the incidents now first made public were not of very recent date; on the contrary, it appeared as if they were thereby more connected with the wholesale system for which some of his former colleagues had been sentenced by the Chamber of Peers.

There need be no reserve in recording the details of this affair, as they have all been proclaimed without any material contradiction from the tribune, and there exposed by M. Odilon Barrot, whose voice, deportment, and indeed whose character so peculiarly fit him to play the part of censor. Some of the facts had already been mentioned in the Chamber of Peers. M. Dupin had proposed a law in the Deputies to punish for the future such proceedings criminally, when the day before M. Barrot's interpellations, M. Hebert, on the part of the Ministry, endeavoured to blunt the edge of the

attack, by taking the proposition for future prevention into their own hands.*

* * * * *

It appears that an influential supporter of the Government, Mr. X., was, for reasons which it is not necessary to specify, very anxious to secure a place for Mr. Z. As Mr. X. was only desirous that Mr. Z. should be content and occupied, and Mr. Z. on his part was not particular at what price his ambition was gratified, M. Guizot told Mr. X. that provided Mr. Z. would buy the resignation of a better place in the Cour des Comptes than would be destined for him, he should himself obtain a smaller one then vacant. The bargain was executed, but the exigencies of parliamentary corruption at that time pressing hard upon M. Guizot, he gave away, without any reference to Mr. Z., both the place he desired and that which he had bought, endeavouring to put him off with a promise of an early vacancy; but at this both Mr. Z. and his patron Mr. X. were indignant, and the 60,000 francs which M. Guizot repaid to Mr. X. for Mr. Z., as the price given for the place bought, was ob-

* I had heard the whole story in considerable detail, and had so recorded it; but as it is necessarily mixed up with some anecdotes in private life, I have carefully omitted any fact which might identify individuals, and have only preserved so much as serves as an example of the working of the system even in the comparatively pure hands of M. Guizot, whose private character stands far too high for any one for a moment to impute to him personally corrupt motives. Yet what perversion of public trust is here displayed!

tained for this purpose from M. Duchâtel out of the secret service money.* There followed at a later period a more prosperous corrupt negotiation actually hatched in the Cabinet, next door to M. Guizot, and through the intervention of his private and confidential secretary.

M. Guizot was not so much injured by his evident participation in the affair as by the callous indifference with which he treated the matter. Though still no one believed that he, like some of his late colleagues at the Luxembourg, had "himself an itching palm," yet these facts clearly proved that if he never clung to power for the purpose of corruption, he dealt in corruption as a means of power. It was with the Chamber in this disposition, that after M. Guizot's somewhat incoherent explanation, M. Odilon Barrot delivered himself in a tone which had more the calm dignity of a judge summing up against one arraigned at the bar of public opinion, than the character of a political adversary replying to a powerful Minister in a Chamber devoted to him. It seems to me that this latter speech of M. Odilon Barrot unites so many rare qualities of the highest style of eloquence, that I transcribe it almost entire from the "*Moniteur*" of this morning:—

"*Après le discours que vous avez entendu,*

* This I had heard at the time; but I understood afterwards that the Provisional Government had found proofs of the fact in the archives of the Home Office so precipitately abandoned to them.

Messieurs, le débat ne peut guère se prolonger. Il y a longtemps que je savais que nous ne nous comprenions plus en politique, mais je croyais que sur les choses d'honnêteté et de morale . . . nous nous comprenions encore.

“ J'avais précisé les faits de telle manière qu'il me paraissait impossible d'échapper à cette alternative, ou de les déclarer faux ou d'en subir la responsabilité. Vous appelez petits faits, vous ministre politique d'un Cabinet, élevé en cette qualité à la présidence de ce Cabinet, représentant au plus haut degré le pouvoir d'un grand, d'un noble pays ! vous appelez petits faits l'impputation d'avoir été chercher un homme, de lui avoir dit : Nous avons besoin de telle démission, et de lui avoir remboursé, avec une place, la somme qu'il avait déboursée ! Vous appelez petits faits un marché, une négociation qui s'est passé dans votre Cabinet, à votre porte, et a eu pour entremetteur un de vos agents, celui-là qui est notoirement auprès de vous !

“ Vous appelez cela un petit fait, lorsque toute cette Chambre s'est émue, non pas pour un concours direct et personnel, non pas pour la complicité d'un ministre dans ses abus, mais pour la simple tolérance, pour le simple défaut de surveillance nécessaire ! et lorsque ces faits se passent avec votre concours, sur votre provocation. . . . Je dis lorsque rien ne vous y rattachait, ni vos fonctions, ni vos attributions, lorsque cela s'est passé après l'engagement solennel, pris devant cette Chambre, après

l'engagement solennel, non pas que vous ne courriez jamais directement à de pareils abus, un ministre n'aurait jamais osé prendre un tel engagement à la tribune, car on ne s'engage pas à être un honnête homme ni un ministre loyal.

“ Il s'était engagé à ne plus tolérer de pareils marchés, l'engagement a été inscrit dans nos procès-verbaux, dans le Moniteur, dans nos souvenirs. Eh bien, savez-vous comment cet engagement a été tenu ? Ce n'est pas celui qui entre à la cour des comptes, par suite de la démission achetée, qui donne de l'argent. . . . Oui, en cela vous êtes dans la lettre jésuite de l'engagement que vous avez pris, c'est un tiers qu'on va chercher. C'est un tiers qui fournit l'argent, c'est un tiers qui débourse l'argent nécessaire pour acheter la démission, et puis on le paye, avec quoi ? avec une place qui aurait dû être la récompense désirée, légitime, des plus vieux et des plus loyaux services. C'est cette place qu'on lui donne en solde et en remboursement de ce qu'il avait avancé. Et vous appelez cela un petit fait ? J'avais bien raison de dire que nous ne nous comprenions plus en morale. Et c'est nous, opposition, qui blessons apparemment les lois de la morale, parce qu'un fait dont la publicité a été saisie, qui a été porté dans l'autre Chambre, qui a retenti dans le pays, ne nous a pas paru de nature à passer inaperçu ; c'est nous, opposition, qui blessons les lois de la morale, de la justice, et de la vérité parce que, vous mettant en présence

de ces faits, nous vous avons dit : Nous sommes prêts à vous accorder la plus éclatante réparation, je m'engage à vous l'accorder la plus grande possible, à en prendre l'initiative s'il le faut, si le fait n'est pas vrai. Mais si le fait est vrai, songez au pouvoir dont vous êtes revêtu, songez-y non pas dans les paroles pompeuses mais dans la pratique de ces conditions morales du pouvoir, des conditions dans lesquelles il peut seul marcher respecté et honoré. Plus les difficultés qui l'environnent sont grandes, et vous les multipliez bien tous les jours, tous les jours elles grandissent, j'en conviens, par vos fautes ; mais plus elles sont grandes, plus dangereuses sont celles que nous réserve l'avenir, plus il faut veiller avec soin sur ces forces morales qui seules peuvent permettre d'affronter les épreuves qui nous sont réservées. Et puis, vous nous parlez de votre orgueil, vous vous retranchez dans votre orgueil. Oh, oui, quelquefois l'orgueil est quelque chose de grand, quelque chose de légitime ; je comprends certains dédains, mais je les comprends lorsqu'il s'agit de la personne, je comprends qu'on face des accusations dirigées contre la personne, l'homme politique, bravant la colère des partis, ne veuille pas répondre, je le comprends et quelquefois je l'admire et je l'honore. Mais s'agit-il de vous ici ? Il s'agit du pouvoir que vous représentez, et quand il s'agit de l'honneur de ce pouvoir, laissez de côté votre orgueil personnel qui n'a rien à faire dans cette question.

“ Voilà comment je comprenais votre situation, vous l'avez comprise autrement. A la bonne heure, soit. Chacun entend à sa manière ses devoirs et sa dignité. Mais permettez-moi un dernier mot, et celui-là je l'adresse à la majorité qui vous appuie.

“ Il faut en convenir, vous la mettez à de cruelles épreuves. Il y a dans votre confiance quelque chose de bien insolent et de bien injurieux pour elle. Sous le coup d'une pareille imputation, je vous le répète, si la loi que vous avez apportée vous-même, loi étrange, loi faite pour une espèce, loi qui dans son préambule est une justification, dans son dispositif une condamnation. . . .

“ Si cette loi était portée, je dis que, armé de cette loi et des dispositions qui doivent la compléter, il n'y a pas de tribunal au monde qui ne vous imprimât sur le front le titre de complice ou d'auteur principal. C'est en face de ce fait, c'est en face de cette condamnation politique et morale écrite dans votre propre loi que, vous retournant devant votre majorité, vous lui dites : Je n'ai pas à me justifier, j'ai assez de confiance en vous, continuez comme par le passé, votez pour moi et tout sera dit. Eh bien, que la majorité vote pour vous, et que le pays ensuite prononce sur nous tous.”

Obviously did M. Guizot flinch under this verbal castigation so powerfully applied ; and the assumed indifference with which he had at first attempted to face his novel position completely failed when

M. de l'Herbette brought more precisely and distinctly forward his direct personal intervention in the bargain by quoting a letter in which Mr. X. explained to his friend that he must wait till he could again see M. Guizot, as it was a subject on which the Minister liked better to speak than to write. His irritation then became so obvious that M. de l'Herbette, finding his attention distracted by pantomimic interruptions, said : "Je ne sais pas si l'on se contentera de répondre à cette citation par des hausscments d'épaules, par des contortions de visage, par des rires sardoniques qui au surplus ne peuvent me décontenancer. J'ai vu le Tartufe de la Religion sur un autre théâtre avant de voir sur le théâtre politique le Tartufe de Probité."*

It was a painful sight—for nothing is so painful as to see a great man attempting in vain to creep out of difficulty by similar expedients—to witness the effect produced by the last words on M. Guizot, when having first endeavoured to draw the distinction that "les faits particuliers auxquels on fait allusion ne se sont pas passés dans mon cabinet," and being reminded that the bargain was made in the adjoining cabinet and by his confidential agent, he

* It was M. de l'Herbette, who, in the course of the discussions in the beginning of this year, when there was a question as to revoking the decree of banishment against the Bonaparte family, said in its favour : "L'Empereur quoique mort est toujours vivant ; sa famille quoique vivante est déjà morte."—A phrase more epigrammatic than prescient.

ended with a general denial, "J'ai été parfaitement étranger à tout le reste." A voice was at once heard to exclaim, "How then came it that Mr. X. stated in his letter that he had received the repayment of the money from him himself?" The Minister was forced to turn a deaf ear to this inquiry; when such a murmur followed his descent from the tribune, unchecked but by the feeblest opposing sound from those benches usually so ready to respond with sustaining shouts, that it sounded to my ears like the knell of departed prestige. This impression seemed confirmed when M. Darbley, a Conservative member, and, till now, a supporter of M. Guizot's Cabinet, proposed another ordre du jour motivé: "L'assemblée affligée et mécontente clot la discussion sur l'incident et passe à l'ordre du jour." The time, of course, was not yet come when such an unequivocal censure could have any chance of being carried; and another, expressing merely the confidence that such things would never recur, was preferred by a majority of 225 to 146.

In leaving the Chamber I met some members who had voted in the majority, and who were common friends of mine and of M. Guizot's, and their regret was expressed that M. Guizot's want of the habits of a man of the world — his self-reliance and contempt for the opinion of others — had prevented him from dealing with this question with the required tact which might have prevented

the unfavourable impression it had produced. It was said of M. Guizot by a caustic wit, a colleague of his, not in the Cabinet, but in the Chamber: —

“ Il ne pratique pas toutes ses maximes, mais il maxime toutes ses pratiques ; ” but on this occasion even this last resource failed him. These were “ des pratiques ” which the most dogmatical of doctrinaires could hardly dress in the garb of a precept.

Jan. 24.

There is another contradiction given to M. Guizot to-day, in the shape of a letter from Mr. Z. He had answered in the Chamber that he was not aware of any of the details of the affair. Mr. Z. says, that all was arranged between him and Mr. X. at the “ Affaires Étrangères,” and that, whenever a difficulty arose, Mr. X. went for a moment into a “ cabinet voisin,” and returned with the difficulty removed !

Jan. 28.

The "Séance" yesterday was again very damaging to M. Guizot; the attack was in tone more animated on the part of his assailants than the first time. Odilon Barrot had then spoken with the severe dignity of a judge, and his speech was a happy mixture of the charge and the sentence. Tocqueville and Billault (both able and very effective) spoke rather like counsel, in aggravation of punishment. Still one cannot imagine any man being able to sit and hear such things said to him.

Feb. 3.

I HAD not time last night, upon my return from the Chamber, to record anything of the effect produced by a magnificent speech of Thiers. The extraordinary clearness with which he classed his facts was, perhaps, the most striking quality of his

speech, but its effect was very great. Guizot, being still far from well, asked till to-day to reply to it; upon this Thiers will rejoin, according to the custom here, and he is supposed to have reserved some of his most damaging points.

Feb. 6.

The debate in the Chamber of Deputies will evidently still be very long; and though I have attended every day, I had not hitherto found it necessary to keep a regular journal of the character of the speeches, which did not seem to me to contain any very original matter; but this want of originality can certainly not be attributed to an interlocutory reply of M. Guizot, which I heard on Friday afternoon, but could hardly trust my ears till I saw it reported in the "Moniteur" yesterday. M. Guizot, in defending what is here called the personal Government of the King, accused the Opposition of ignorance in not knowing that in England no great measure was ever decided without having first been discussed in full council before the Sovereign. Strange as it may appear, there was no one in the Chamber ready on the instant to dispute so novel a proposition, which one should little have expected to have heard from a person like M. Guizot, who has written upon the

spirit of our Constitution, and has had an opportunity of studying its practice by a residence on the spot as ambassador.*

Feb. 7.

The opinion here is general — I might almost say universal — that the present state of things cannot last long; but the extent and the period of the coming change are very differently estimated. Some think that that change may be successfully modified by timely concessions, others look to the persistence in a precarious delay at any risk, trusting that the existing discontent, instead of increasing, may wear itself out

* These are the precise words used by M. Guizot from the "Moniteur":—"L'honorable préopinant me confond par son oubli des faits. S'il était plus au courant des faits, il saurait que jamais une décision importante sur une grande question, après avoir été préparé dans le conseil des Ministres, n'est définitivement décidée en Angleterre qu'après avoir été portée devant la Reine, et sanctionnée par elle *en présence de son Conseil.*" Can M. Guizot really have been ignorant of the fact that no such councils as he supposes for the discussion and decision of "les grandes questions" are ever held in England in presence of the Sovereign? The councils to which he alludes, with the single exception of points connected with the Meeting or Prorogation of Parliament, are held according to custom for the formal sanction of matters of routine. Of course, before any important measure is publicly proposed by the Cabinet, the assent of the Sovereign is given privately to the responsible Minister.

before next year. The choice between these two different modes of dealing with existing difficulties is at this moment in the hands of from forty to fifty members of the majority of uncertain conduct, since their opinions are principally swayed by the varying notions of their interests and their prospects. Sometimes they are inclined to bow implicitly to the will of the King; sometimes to yield to the influence of public opinion. Their personal position is embarrassed by this double consideration. If they vote for Reform, they obviously shorten their present lease of legislative power; if they vote against it, they destroy all chance of the renewal of their lease. To reconcile these conflicting interests, the Government have hit upon an expedient, which they hope may be successful. A deputation from the dissentients amongst the majority waited upon them yesterday, stating that unless they made some promise of Reform, they intended to vote for the amendment of M. Salandrouze, a member of their own section, which pledged the Chamber to Reform. The answer of the Minister was, that they would do nothing whatever this year, but that before the end of the natural term of the Legislature they would fairly consider all these questions. It is not yet known how the Reform party amongst the majority will take this declaration. If it could be received as satisfactory by their constituents, it would then obviously reconcile those interests to which I have

alluded above, as at once postponing a dissolution and enabling them to close their present term with a popular vote; but the public mind is hardly, I think, in a state to be satisfied with a delay so obviously interested, and which it is utterly impossible to defend in principle. The moment the Government own, upon a subject of such importance, that something is to be done, they take from themselves all excuse for opposing its immediate consideration. The change which they now contemplate as inevitable, will either have the effect of reversing the character of the majority, or it will not. If it should not have any political result, why not at once take measures for restoring to the Legislative body that consideration which by such a line of conduct they own it to have lost? but if, as they must feel, it would have the effect of giving a much more liberal character to the majority of the Assembly, how can they attempt for three years more to govern the country against that which they know to be the deliberate sense of the people, as it is so soon to be legitimately collected? But there is an additional reason connected with the peculiar circumstances of the moment why they should not attempt to keep this question open, even for their own interests. Considering the present state of health and age of the King, the demise of the Crown might at any moment produce an unexpected dissolution; they would then have a new Chamber, elected by the present consti-

tency, and containing the existing number of functionaries. It is obvious that such a Chamber could not survive six months through the first feeble days of a regency; and the change would then have to be made, in a hurry, under the dictation of popular clamour; and a double dissolution would much add to the difficulties of the first moments of a distracted Government. These are all considerations which occurred to me upon first hearing of the plan by which the Government intends to neutralise the opposition of some of their former supporters. The debate, which involves these questions, commenced to-day; and therefore it will shortly be seen what its effect will be upon the Chamber. In the meantime there are certain facts which cannot be denied by any one, showing the existing state of public feeling in France, and what judicious management it requires to avert a dangerous crisis.

The Ministry now invariably lose every election upon vacancies produced by accidental causes. They sometimes endeavour to neutralise the effect of this by creating, through promotion, a new election in some of the smaller colleges where they are sure of the result. A general election at this moment, even with the present very limited constituency, would without doubt return a large hostile majority.

I hear from the best informed persons that the Government dare not at present, on any occasion,

assemble the National Guard ; and the utmost efforts were necessary on the part of the influential men amongst those of extreme opinions, who nevertheless do not wish confusion, to prevent ebullitions of popular feeling, which would now be dangerous. I am told that the reports which the Minister of the Interior receives from the Prefects are far from reassuring as to the state of the provinces.

I shall watch with interest any fresh light which the present discussion may throw upon the prospects of the country.

Feb. 10.

No marked event has occurred within the last three days having a direct bearing on the state of affairs in this country, but I regret to add that every indication of the temper of the different parties has been of a nature to diminish my hopes of the difficulties being solved by the predominance of moderate counsels. The arbitrary principles proclaimed by the Government, and the vehemence of the indignation with which this announcement has been met by the Opposition, seem to threaten a critical collision. When I last recorded my observations, a considerable number of members of the majority had formed themselves into two se-

parate deputations to the Government, the two sections being marked by some difference in the tone of their appeal; the members of the two divisions were said to amount to fifty-four, sufficient, had they adhered to their intention, to turn the decision of the Chamber. At first, as I said before, the Ministers were inclined to temporise with them, and promised a consideration of Reform before the expiration of the Legislature; but finding that the smaller number of the dissentients were not to be so satisfied, and that the larger portion might equally, for the moment, be restrained from any open separation by an appeal to their spirit of party, the Government determined to take a different line—to announce their intention of preventing all Reform banquets, and to refuse all prospective engagements as to Reform. The result of this determination has been shown in the temper of the Chamber during the last three days; but yesterday the exasperation reached its height, when M. Hebert, the *Garde des Sceaux*, delivered a speech containing doctrines which certainly no Minister for the last 150 years would ever have ventured to pronounce in England. He said that the right of political discussion had never been intended to be conferred upon Frenchmen. That it was not specified in the charter of 1830, and that no liberties were secured but those which were there enumerated. This he repeated several times, apparently under the inspiration of a leader who, I should

rather have expected, would have risen at once a damning witness against him. His present chief, M. Guizot, when Minister of the Interior, a few months after the revolution of July thus expressed himself in the Chamber of Deputies, according to the report in the "Moniteur" of the 28th of September, 1830: — "The citizens have the right to meet to discuss amongst themselves public affairs; it is good they should do so, and never will I contest that right." M. Guizot has not yet spoken, and it remains to be seen how his oratorical art may enable him to reconcile this declaration with the doctrine of his Minister of Justice and his own present practice.

The descent from the tribune of M. Hebert was the signal for a scene of extraordinary confusion; M. Odilon Barrot exclaiming loudly that he had said what M. Peyrouset would never have ventured to utter. M. Odilon Barrot justified his expression by his own experience. In the spring of the year which produced the revolution of July, he had himself presided at a political reunion, similar to that which the Government now prepared to prevent, and the then Ministers respected his rights. I do not pretend to offer an opinion whether there really is much resemblance between the incidents of the two periods, but it is unfortunate for the prospects of public tranquillity, that such should seem to be the idea every day becoming more prevalent in all quarters of Paris;

and I regret to be obliged to add, that I hear the King has used very indiscreet language within the last few days to different members of the corps diplomatique, who have been to his Majesty with letters of condolence on the death of Madame Adelaïde. The feeling of the National Guard is such as to give great uneasiness to the Government. Even yesterday a large body of the officers of that body were bent upon making a significant demonstration, and were only prevented by the earnest entreaties of some of the Opposition deputies. Should the Reform banquet still be persisted in,—as appears likely, since its promoters assert that it cannot be interfered with except by an arbitrary violation of their political rights,—some serious disturbances will no doubt take place, though with the overwhelming force of regular troops the Government have within Paris, there seems no question as to the immediate result.

We are now approaching the conclusion of the debates in the Address: the primary effect of the violence of the Opposition, however provoked, will probably be to give a large majority within the Chambers to the Government upon this question.

I hear there are two Reform banquets organised, and that their promoters intend to persevere, while the Government is determined to prevent them, Guizot says, "with cannon shot, if necessary." Somebody in the Chamber was, I hear, criticising Hebert's speech yesterday to Guizot,

who said: "I like it, I like violence—I like to produce it—it does me good."

The intention of the Gauche is said to be, if the paragraph stigmatising them is voted, not to vote upon the whole Address, but to leave the Chamber "en masse," and then to give in their resignations, in order to have eighty or a hundred re-elections at a time throughout France.

Feb. 14.

The debate in the Chamber of Deputies on the Address, which had lasted upwards of three weeks, closed on Saturday. As to numbers, the forces of the Government had progressively diminished on almost every occasion since the beginning of the session. The election of the President had been carried by 110 votes, about the amount at which the standing majority obtained at the last general election had been calculated. Upon the next division, that relating to the present acts of the head of the Government, and expressing undisguised censure with reference to them, the majority was reduced to 80. Upon the next question condemnatory of the foreign policy of the Government on the Swiss question, the majority remained precisely the same. After an interval of some days,

and a discussion of unexampled vehemence, the question to omit the words by which the Sovereign had been recommended to characterise as hostile the disposition of a portion of the Chamber, was only negatived by 43 votes in one of the fullest chambers known for some time; and the final division, by which the Chamber would have been at once pledged to Reform, in spite of the repeated declaration of the Ministry that such a vote was equivalent to a demand for a change of government, left them only a majority of 33, the numbers being 222 to 189. But the gradual decay of the numerical strength would give a very imperfect idea of the effect of this discussion upon the position of Ministers: with reference, for instance, to this last discussion the majority, small as it was, had only been obtained by concessions, the degradation of which is much enhanced by the clumsy attempt to conceal them. It is not necessary to refer to words used by M. Duchâtel in the Chamber of Peers, to the effect that the Government would not say anything which could excite an expectation as to a change in the policy upon the question of Reform; one need not go further back than M. Guizot's speech of Saturday last to find him, within two minutes of time, in striking contradiction with himself. He began by saying, "that the Government would think it betrayed its duty if it took any engagement for the future from that Tribune,— to promise was sometimes worse

than to act, as to promise destroyed what existed without attempting to replace it." These words, which sounded as if they must indicate some fixed purpose, were well delivered and much admired, and the murmurs of approbation had hardly subsided, when he surprised every one by adding that the Government thoroughly felt that the question must be settled in the course of the present legislature. So extraordinary an attempt to be at once glorified for his firmness and saved by his submission was too much for the endurance of the Assembly, and he left the Tribune evidently without having pleased any one. It is easily perceived that by thus indicating the necessity of a change, he produced the effect of throwing discredit upon the present state of things, which he had himself said made him consider a promise worse than actual legislation. Had the division taken place immediately after this speech, I am inclined to think, from the effect I saw it produced, that the Government would have been overthrown; but the speeches of M. Thiers and M. Rémusat, in which they foretold, probably with much truth, the complete disorganisation of the Conservative party under such leaders, seemed to rally the party-spirit of a few of its members, and, I know, influenced some votes. Had M. De Rémusat (whose personal influence with all parties is great, and whose speech the day before had, as a means to an end, been, I think, the most judicious) confined himself to remarking that the Government

had now evidently no opinion of their own on the subject of Reform; that the majority was divided upon it; and that it was therefore for those who were sincere in their opinion to seize this occasion of giving that direction to the future conduct of the Government, which would obviously be impeded by a strong decision against the question,— I believe that such words from his mouth, without any allusion to its effect upon the state of parties, would have carried the amendment against the Government. But the peculiar character of this question appears to me in another light, — what is here called Parliamentary Reform, in contradiction to Electoral Reform, means the reduction of the number of functionaries in the Chamber. I have not yet seen the list upon the last division which specially related to this point, but I have no doubt that in the majority of 222 there were at least 150 functionaries. Many of these are brought up, to the neglect of their various functions in different parts of the country, to support the Government. A portion of them are removable at pleasure, — all depend upon the Government equally for promotion, for more or less of facility and indulgence in the exercise of their employment. They are called upon to vote upon a question which directly affects their own position in the Chamber, and against a Government which unscrupulously exercises control on their actions; and by the present manner of voting, each of these dependent creatures has to

walk up one flight of steps to the Tribune, and standing within a few paces of the Minister of the Interior, with his eyes fixed upon him, to place a ball either in a white or a black urn, and then descend the opposite flight of steps, and pass close by the Ministers on returning to his place. Who can any longer be surprised that Mr. Salandrouze's amendment was rejected ?

As I attended personally every one of these sittings, which lasted three weeks, I could observe that the decline of the numerical force of the majority was not so strong an indication of its altered feelings as the change in its tone. There was still a disposition on the part of many to prolong for a short time the existence of the Ministry, in order to avert the probable dissolution of the Chamber; but during the whole of that discussion of unexampled length, there was hardly an independent member, or one not actually in office under the Government, who said one word in favour either of the foreign or domestic policy. It was also remarkable that often as M. Guizot had, upon former occasions, recovered himself from surrounding difficulties, by the exercise of his extraordinary talent in the Tribune, he never once during the debates on the Address made a single effective rally.

He heard, without an attempt at reply, the Spanish marriages stigmatised as a selfish and anti-national policy, amidst the cheers of his opponents

and without one dissenting murmur from that majority which had supported them last year. It was proved by the admission of his own Minister of War, that at the time when he was proposing to Europe a mediation on Swiss affairs, he had smuggled, for the benefit of Sunderland, arms and ammunition out of the royal arsenal at Besançon, concealed in the shape of other merchandise, and with a false declaration to their own Customs. Still all these crushing facts remained unanswered, and the Minister could only assume an air of affected indifference.

The position of the Liberal party in France is at this moment a very delicate one. It is impossible, after the manner in which all right to free discussion had been questioned, that they can remain passive; and yet, should the agitation be either too long continued, or degenerate into violence, there is much danger of their alarming some of their moderate allies. I believe, however, there is hardly any one man who does not regret the insertion of the offensive words in the King's Speech. The Ministers, in point of fact, availed themselves of a constitutional form, in which to throw out an unparliamentary imputation against their adversaries; to impute hostile designs would be an unparliamentary phrase, if used by one member towards another, and to make the Crown a party to an offence, which would not be borne from an individual, is evidently unconstitutional. In this

instance, though, I take it, the customary construction upon addresses from the throne would have been nearer fiction than usual. It is supposed that the words in question were arranged between the King and M. Guizot, and were persevered in, much to the regret, if not in spite, of the opposition of some of the other Ministers. The course, I take it, which the Opposition mean to pursue, is to persevere in their banquets; to attend these in great numbers; should their reunion be prevented by an appearance of force, not to resist, but to carry the question at once, in the shape of a complaint, before the Tribunals. It appears that there is some doubt upon the question; but I am informed that the great preponderance of the best legal opinion, removed from a party view of the subject, is in favour of the legality of this species of political reunion; and certainly, as far as the arguments used in debate were concerned, this view would appear conclusive; though the assertion on the other side was most vehement and unmeasured, for, as I said before, M. Hébert, the Minister of Justice, uttered doctrines which evidently never would have been heard in England since the revolution of 1688. In reference to any supposed analogy between the constitutional practices of the two countries I cannot omit to record that upon the 12th, in speaking upon an amendment of M. Salandrouze's, the scope of which was to excite the Government to the adoption of a Reform, having

for its object the limitation of the number of Place-men in the Chamber, M. Guizot, in refusing to give any assurance on the subject, used these words, as reported in the "Moniteur": "Toutes les grandes Réformes, presque toutes, qui ont été opérées en Angleterre, l'ont été par les hommes mêmes qui les avaient combattues jusqu'au moment où ils ont cru devoir les accomplir." I happened to meet M. Guizot last night in a salon which he much frequents, and availing myself of the recognised freedom of social intercourse, I attacked him good-humouredly on his having thus expressed himself the day before in the Chamber. I said I had no pretension to pronounce my opinion upon any part of the discussion, except upon points where our own practice had been cited. He attempted to qualify what he had said — that he only meant a large portion had been carried by those who had previously opposed them. I replied that it was not at all the case, and I ran him off a long list, beginning with this very question of Limitation of Place-men by those who had always opposed what they called the increasing influence of the Crown; going through independence of the Judges — Jurisdiction of Juries in Cases of Libel — Abolition of Slave Trade — of Slavery itself — Reform in Parliament — Municipal Reform — Reform of Churches both in England and in Ireland; and this brought him to what I knew he considered his strong point — Catholics and Corn. I told him even these did not

serve him as exceptions; for they were not carried by the party, which had to the last opposed them, but by the exceptional conduct of one great man, who was still living, and upon whom history had not yet pronounced its verdict. I believed he would always be considered a great man, though this would be in spite, not in consequence, of the continued opposition between his ultimate convictions and the political conduct of a long life, which protracted course of error was no doubt a flaw in that character of a practical statesman for which he had so many other qualifications. "At any rate," said M. Guizot, "he was the Minister who succeeded where others failed." In both cases, I remarked, he trusted to the disinterested support of his political adversaries; in this he was not disappointed; but in the first case he disgusted his friends, and in the last he destroyed his party, and upset his Government. This conclusion seemed not to satisfy the Minister, who had perhaps some vague idea of some day playing the part of a French Peel. M. Guizot always listens unwillingly, if in fact he listens at all, to anything tending to prove he has made a mistake. As soon as good breeding permitted, he broke off the conversation. This is the second time in the course of these discussions M. Guizot has, for the purpose of debate, put forward his supposed knowledge of England, and has not found any one ready upon the spot to tell him that (of course unin-

tentionally) he has been asserting the reverse of fact.*

* This is the only occasion on which I have inserted in these pages any one of the numerous conversations, either confidential or official, which I had with M. Guizot. I have, of course, folios full of them; I have also much information of a secret character, as to what passed during this period in the interior of the Government, but neither description of document are very likely to see the light; when lapse of time might seem to sanction their publication, all interest on the subject to which they refer will probably have passed away. My object in the present work is to recall attention to facts which rest on public record, and on which I endeavoured, day by day, to form an opinion of my own, after having heard and compared all that was said by personal acquaintances and private friends among the different parties more directly concerned in those wonderful events. That M. Guizot does justice to the probable impartiality of collateral information derived from such a source, we have his testimony in a new work of his, published this year: "Quand on a étudié avec soin dans les récits et les monumens nationaux un grand drame historique, il reste un témoin important à interroger * * * * * c'est surtout dans les correspondances des agens diplomatiques qu'est déposé ce témoignage—ils ont pour mission essentielle de bien regarder et d'être bien instruits. Ils ont dit sans gêne tout ce qu'ils ont vu, appris et pensé—leurs relations sont le complément indispensable et le meilleur contrôle des documens nationaux."

As I stated in the Introduction, though this record was kept for my own satisfaction in the shape of a journal, and therefore contains the details of many incidents which would have been out of character in au official correspondence, yet all the main facts were at the time communicated to my Government, sometimes in pretty nearly the same words, where events succeeded each other so rapidly that I had only time to keep a double copy of what it was my duty to write without delay.

For about three years after the period at which the present record concludes, I had to deal with seven or eight different

CHAP. II.

THE REFORM BANQUET.—EFFORTS OF THE MINISTRY TO KEEP THE PEOPLE QUIET.—THE NATIONAL GUARD AND THE TROOPS.—— POSTPONEMENT OF THE BANQUET.— MODIFICATION OF THE GOVERNMENT PLANS.— INDISCRETION OF MINISTERS.— SINGULAR INDICATION OF THE STATE OF PUBLIC FEELING.— COURT OF CASSATION ON THE LEGALITY OF THE MEETING.— CHANGE IN THE KING'S LANGUAGE.— MODIFICATION OF THE GOVERNMENT.— ABANDONMENT OF THE BANQUET.— MOTION FOR IMPEACHMENT OF MINISTERS.— ATTITUDE OF THE NATIONAL GUARD.— DISMISSAL OF MINISTERS.— MOLÉ SUMMONED.— “ RESPECTEZ LE DROIT DES GENS.”— ENTHUSIASM OF THE PEOPLE.— UNEXPECTED INCIDENT.— BARRICADES RE-ERECTED.— ABDICATION AND FLIGHT OF THE KING.— PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT PROCLAIMED.— DEMORALIZATION OF PUBLIC FEELING.

Feb. 17.

IT was this morning announced as having been settled, that the Reform Banquet was to take place on Sunday next, at a restaurant in the Champs

Foreign Ministers, of every variety of political opinion; and I think I might appeal to the friendly relations I uniformly maintained as a proof that, according to the words of M. Guizot, I fulfilled the duty of a Diplomatist: “ d'observer avec liberté d'esprit, et impartialité.”

Elysées, near the Arc de Triomphe. It was understood that the situation, the most remote point from the populous suburbs of Paris, had been chosen with a view to confine the demonstration, as far as possible, to those classes whom it was alone wished should attend. An attempt was made to endeavour to persuade the Government to allow them to assemble quietly, and then to have the notification to disperse announced by a Commissary of Police, upon which they stated they would separate and try the question subsequently in a court of law. M. Duchâtel is understood to have been inclined to enter into this arrangement; but, from opposition in other quarters, it was at last refused, and it is now determined that entrance shall be forbidden, and this command executed by an overwhelming force.

There is no apprehension of any resistance on the part either of the deputies, magistrates, mayors, municipal council, or national guard who may attend; but the Government are not without serious uneasiness as to the probability of the occasion being seized for an outbreak by another portion of the population, which are known to be only watching their opportunity.

I do not myself much participate in this alarm. The Government are known by all who would disturb the public peace to have collected an overwhelming force, and to have organised it to act efficiently. I therefore am inclined to trust in the

success of the efforts, which I am told are making by the leaders even of the most violent political parties, to keep the people quiet; but one never can answer for the possible consequences of a chance-medley when large masses are collected from amongst a population where there does not exist either political attachment to any individual, or the slightest respect for any existing institution.

(5 p. m.) I am by no means sure that some reports may not purposely be exaggerated for the interests of the Ministry. At the same time, those which the police receive of the exasperation of the great body of the people, and of the hatred felt towards the Government, cannot all be invented for their satisfaction.

It is said that twenty thousand National Guards, unarmed, but in uniform, will accompany the banqueteers; and it was reported, two days since, that there was some doubt of the troops acting, if the National Guard were not also on duty; but this I do not believe, at least in the first instance. The Government will not venture to make any use of the National Guard, but the troops may be relied upon in any chance fray. If the struggle was to continue a second day, I do not know that I should say as much. It is inconceivable folly in the Government to have provoked such a conflict upon a point, where, I am told (if they rely, as hitherto, upon the Act of 1789), the Cour de Cassation are sure, in the last resort, to declare them wrong. I thought the

King well last night, but very low. He seemed at one time inclined to talk to me about the Banquet question, but I avoided it. I could not say I thought he was right, and it was no business of mine to say he was wrong.

(6 P.M.) I have just heard that the Banquet is postponed, at any rate, till Tuesday, the leaders being afraid of the extent of a popular demonstration on a day when the working classes were unemployed. I am also told that the Government have this day ascertained that they would have a majority of Judges in the Court of Cassation in their favour as to the question of legality.

Feb. 19.

The alarm, which unfortunately prevails here in every social circle, may shape itself into exaggerated reports of the dreaded danger. I therefore note down the last information I have been able to collect up to the present time, as to the results which may be expected from the great meeting now fixed for next Tuesday. The delay and uncertainty which has prevailed as to the time and place, I am told, arose solely from the difficulty of finding a convenient spot, sufficiently removed from the more populous part of Paris, capable of con-

taining the numbers expected to attend, and which could become at once by purchase the private property of one of the parties; — a condition which is supposed by the lawyers to have much bearing upon the question of legality. Even at this moment, the precise spot has not been announced, but it is said to be in the upper part of the Champs Elysées, near to the Arc de Triomphe.

The decision of the Government as to the course to be pursued with reference to the demonstration itself, is understood to have undergone a considerable modification within the last eight and forty hours. It had been determined to fill the Champs Elysées with troops, and to prevent by force the entrance of the subscribers to the place of réunion. This has been changed, principally, I am told, in consequence of the prudent counsels of M. Duchâtel, and after considerable opposition in other quarters ; and, as now arranged, after the Reformers have assembled, a Commissary of Police is to appear and dress a *procès verbal*, upon which a future prosecution is to be founded. The only point not as yet arranged, is whether after this warning any speech is to be made or not. However this may be, I have great confidence, not only in the pacific intentions, but in the interest felt by both parties engaged in this portion of the day's proceedings that no tumults should ensue ; and I shall be rather surprised should the meeting not pass off quietly. But there are other elements not

so easy to content. There is a very formidable radical and revolutionary portion of the population of Paris, who, as has long been known to the Government, have been watching for an occasion to create confusion. They are to a certain extent organised, many of military habits, and all reckless of danger when excited. Still I am even here inclined to the opinion that as this occasion was not foreseen by this party, as they have no connexion either in feeling or in action with the Reform movement, which stops far short of their views, they will still desire to postpone their designs till that opportunity to which they are known to have been looking — the King's death.

I believe, therefore, in the success of the strenuous efforts of all engaged in what they consider a necessary constitutional demonstration to prevent any breach of the peace. I am not disposed to attribute any fixed design even to the Republicans to engage in any conflict of physical force; but in any speculations, as to the probable conduct of such a population as that of Paris, one must never forget the powerful influence on the event, which at any moment may be excited by the unforeseen chances of such a day. An accidental conflict provoked by a few hotheads, may overturn all previous resolves; and I regret to be obliged to add, that in some quarters, where there is most at stake, language is held calculated to excite the idea that there exists a desire for a general conflict in the

streets of Paris as the best way out of the accumulating difficulties of the present position.

There is no doubt that, in the present state of public opinion, an imposing and perfectly peaceable demonstration, attended by peers and deputies, by almost all the members and all the mayors of Paris, the municipal council, and thousands of national guards in uniform, would be the deathblow of the present system of government, and such a consequence is no doubt much to be deprecated; but the alternative of a conflict is dreadful, and by no means certain in its result. The great probability is, that with the immense garrison ably directed, and all the complicated precautions taken in the first instance, the triumph of the Government would be complete; but, on the other hand, the information taken within the last few days shows them that they must count upon the decided hostility of the great majority of the National Guard. The Ministers are aware of the importance in the way of influence upon the troops of the line, that they should have the appearance of acting with the National Guard, and with this view they very indiscreetly, because irregularly, endeavoured to make a selection of a few persons from each legion; this was sure to be found out, has been published in the newspapers, and has excited the indignation of the great body of those they ought to have endeavoured to conciliate. It has hitherto been a question upon which military officers have

been divided in opinion, whether the troops would act against the people without the National Guards as usual by their side. Should the collision unhappily be provoked in a manner to place the National Guards on the side of the people, it is still more doubtful whether they would venture to act against them.

The newspapers contain an account of cries of "*Vive la Réforme*," uttered by the National Guard on duty at the Tuileries, as they marched past yesterday morning. I am informed this incident actually occurred as there stated. I thus resume then the present state of my own opinion, as founded upon a variety of circumstances, some of which I have detailed above, while others I have not thought it necessary to record. I still hope and trust that Tuesday next may pass over without any disastrous consequences, but I cannot deny that there is some ground for the disquietude, so generally prevailing, and which, amongst other consequences, has induced so many of the English residents to hasten their departure from this country.

Feb. 20.

It is understood that the sections (by which is meant the Revolutionary portion of the population)

who had at first decided to make a movement, have since adopted the resolve to keep quiet. Therefore there only remains the danger from any chance collision in a large crowd, and my belief in the probability that all will pass off quietly is confirmed. Every effort has been made on the part of the Banqueteers to secure order, as of course their own character and the effect of their demonstration depends upon it. There was a singular indication of the state of public opinion yesterday,—there was a report that Guizot had resigned, and the Funds immediately *rose*. I mentioned the other day, that the Government circulated a report that they were sure of a majority of the Cour de Cassation on the point of legality. It is said to-day that the contrary is the fact, as originally recorded by me, and that this is the result of a regular consultation on their part. If so, they can hardly go on with their opposition to the meeting.

They say the King's language was very much changed yesterday. The Duc de Nemours, as well as the Duchesse d'Orleans, are said to urge upon him the necessity of a change of Government.

Feb. 21.

On the eve of the great demonstration fixed for to-morrow, the town of course is inundated with contradictory reports, which supersede each other in rapid succession. The general expectation that everything will go off quietly, seems to increase as the time approaches. Every precaution has been taken by the leaders of the movement, a copy of whose manifesto, published this morning, I have before me; and on the part of the Government, prudent counsels have latterly been adopted; the troops are to be confined to their barracks, and only used in case of necessity, and the notification of a future *procès* made by the Commissary of Police to the guests when assembled, is, I now understand, not to be accompanied by any requisition to disperse; therefore there will not be on the spot any provocation to disturbance. It is worthy of remark, that this alteration of plan on the part of the Government was formed the same day as it was reported that they had finally ascertained that the decision in the Supreme Court was likely to be contrary to their interpretation of the law: should this be so, of course no subsequent prosecution would take place, and, as the Ministry are pledged to try the point, this fact would seem to give probability to a report — very current within the last four-and-twenty hours — that M. Guizot's cabinet will resign on Wed-

nesday morning. I have not been able to trace this rumour to any authentic source. But though a decision much opposed to the character of some of the parties concerned in the present state of public opinion, it would appear almost enforced by circumstances.

Feb. 21. (6 P. M.)

At the very moment I was noting down the last reports I had received of the prospects for tomorrow, the scene described in the evening papers was passing in the Chamber of Deputies. Both M. Odilon Barrot and M. Duchâtel seem to have deserved credit for the manner in which they dealt with the critical difficulties of their position.

Though there were many noisy and irritating interruptions, the debate was limited to these two speeches, and it is rather curious that upon the particular point at issue these two statesmen did not, "*au fond*," differ so much from each other as might have been supposed from the extreme antagonism of their political position. It was made apparent that M. Odilon Barrot personally disapproved of the *quasi* proclamation of the Committee which was the Ministerial ground for this change of purpose, and it had already been known that M. Duchâtel individually would have been very glad not to interfere

with the Banquet; but this new incident gave additional impulse to the desire of his colleagues to forbid it.

The unexpected resolves thus announced by the Government led to a new decision on the part of the Opposition members, the obvious necessity of which determination dispenses with that favourable judgment which might otherwise be passed on its prudence. The fact turned out, as I already speculated it would, that the Committee for the Banquet had given an advantage to the Government by the terms of the manifestos relating to the National Guard.

When I first remarked this to a person likely to be acquainted with the fact, I was told that the military regulations as to the National Guard only applied to them when armed; but by the terms of the statute, quoted in General Jaquemenot's order, —*Les citoyens ne peuvent ni prendre les armes, ni se rassembler en état de Gardes Nationaux, sans l'ordre, etc., etc.*,—it would appear obvious that the manifesto was a violation of the law: had the words been reversed as they were first quoted to me,—*ni se rassembler en état de Gardes Nationaux, ni de prendre les armes*,—there might have been some ground for saying that the whole applied merely to the armed state. Be this as it may, as it was known for some days since that the National Guards would assemble, at least to the amount of 10,000, it would have been much more fair, and pro-

bably in the end much more prudent, if the Government had issued this order a few days earlier. It is impossible, in the first hour or two of the evening, to ascertain what effect this sudden turn may have upon the present excited state of the public mind. I was at the Tuileries this evening, where, though the subject was not directly mentioned to me by his Majesty, the King and the Royal Family seemed relieved; but the Préfet de la Seine, whom I met there, and who has better opportunity than most people for tracing the disposition of the people of Paris, expressed great fear as to the events of to-morrow.

Feb. 22.

I resume my record of the state of affairs here since my note of last night. It appears that immediately after the sitting of the Chamber there was a meeting at M. Odilon Barrot's of the Opposition members of all different shades of opinion, where, after long discussion, and in consequence of the energetic remonstrances of M. Thiers, the resolution was at last adopted to give up the Banquet fixed for to-day, since the Government had announced that they intended to interfere by force if necessary. The deputies very unwillingly adopted this decision, but when it was

once settled, it was agreed they should act upon it as one man, and not mention their previous differences. As I heard this from a person interested, and as all the newspapers this morning take the same line, I think there is reason to suppose that for the present they will act together.

There is no doubt that the General Committee for the Banquet gave the Government a great advantage by the insertion of certain phrases in the manifesto of yesterday morning; though the general tone of that manifesto was judicious, and calculated solely with the view to prevent confusion, yet it was pushing matters rather too far when the National Guards were directed to fall in, according to the number of the legions. The Government had every right to make the most adroit use of this error; but it is urged, on the other side, that had the Government been actuated solely by a desire to maintain the public peace and the legitimate authority of the executive, the notification ought to have been given some days previously, as the substantial illegality evidently consists in the National Guards assembling as such except under regular orders; and it is added, that there had been many communications with M. Duchâtel, to ascertain the fact whether the subscribers to the Banquet would be molested in their progress there, or whether the interruption would only take place on the spot; and that, when the latter assurance was given, it was known that the National Guards

would form part of the *cortége*. Be this as it may, had the advice given to postpone the Banquet not prevailed, very serious consequences would have been the result; as it is, large numbers of people have been brought to Paris from different parts of the country in a great state of exasperation against the Government; and, though one still trusts to the united efforts of all the chiefs of the different divisions of the popular party to prevent disorder, which they feel must tend to the advantage of Ministers, yet there is no one without some degree of uneasiness as to the events of this night. As yet, though great crowds of people are about in the streets, nothing serious has occurred in the forenoon: there were large assemblages in the Place de la Concorde, they allowed themselves to be chased about by the Municipal Guards on horseback wherever assembled in masses, and ran in different directions in apparent good humour.

They made demonstrations of their opinion as some Deputies, known by sight, passed to the Chamber, but nothing more.

It is said that some windows were broken at the Foreign Office early this morning, and the hotel is now guarded by a battalion of troops of the line. As yet there has been nothing but stupid mischief, barricades made in open parts of the Champs Elysées, where they could be of no use, and an isolated guard-house taken and attempted to be fired; Ministers' windows broken early this morning: all

incidents that would have occurred to any one who would wish that there should be an appearance of a popular outbreak. However, a few hours more may clear all this mystery up. Some, who remember 1830, say it is very like the first day of that period.

Feb. 23.

I have just read a copy of the act of accusation or prepared impeachment of Ministers, presented yesterday to the Chamber of Deputies, and signed by fifty members. Of all the various courses which were open to the Opposition in the very delicate position in which they found themselves placed, it is hardly possible to imagine that one more injudicious could have been selected. As they gave, in the palpable illegality of the last manifesto, a fair parliamentary motive for the sudden resolve taken by the Government, they cannot successfully urge the impeachment of Ministers upon that special ground, and they therefore endeavour to connect with it various unconstitutional and corrupt practices, upon which, however, the Chamber has but recently pronounced a different decision. In the present state of the Chamber, these acts, urged collectively in discussion, might have been made the ground for a

change of Government; but in calling upon the majority to agree to punish for that which they have already, if not approved, at least passed over without censure, they seem to me to have committed a signal mistake. This, therefore, I consider the second fault which the Opposition, as a great constitutional party, have committed within the last three days. The first, no doubt, was the form of that public notice of which they authorised the issue on Monday. I have said that this gave the Government a good parliamentary case against them, and by enabling them to use it at the last moment, the promoters of the banquet found themselves in the dilemma of either resisting legal force, or abandoning that occasion of vindicating their rights, to which they had summoned so many of their fellow-citizens, to whom they could not give timely warning to prevent the assembling of many thousands of discontented and disappointed people. In a party sense, the Ministers availed themselves of a fair occasion offered to embarrass and discredit their antagonists; but, tried by the severer test of a paramount duty on the part of the Executive Government, to take the best means in their power to preserve the public peace, the conduct of the Ministers will hardly bear strict examination. It is well known that for several days in the course of last week negotiations had been going on between a ministerial Deputy, the Chairman of the late Commission on the Ad-

dress, on the part of the Minister of the Interior, and M. Odilon Barrot, as to the course it was the intention of the Government to take with reference to the procession as well as the Banquet. It was then notified to the Government, through this channel, that the National Guard would escort the Deputies and other guests in the manner proposed. The Minister expressed, as I am informed, some dislike to this proceeding, but nevertheless finished by coming to the understanding that the Government would only interfere in the shape of a protest on the spot.

Had the Government not abdicated their proper functions under the feelings of alarm they then experienced, and had they not thus given indirectly their sanction to that which they must have then known to be an illegality; had they then at the proper time issued the general order of General Jacquemenot, much of the confusion which has since occurred might have been avoided.

Feb. 23.

Affairs wore a much more serious aspect this afternoon. The 3rd Legion of the National Guard have assembled, but have refused to act, uttering general cries of "*Vive la Réforme!*" "*A bas Guizot!*"

They have announced that they are ready as usual to protect property, should it be attacked, but that they will not lend their assistance to put down any popular demonstration against a Government which they detest. The order for the assembling of the National Guard, which had been announced for yesterday morning, was afterwards recalled, and it was not till dusk that the roll-call beat. During the night, I understand that those who had assembled acted with great vigour in the protection of property, and fired upon bands of people whom they found engaged in pillage, and killed several.

This morning, however, when the 3rd Legion were assembled, they acted as I have described. Their example has since been followed by the 2nd Legion, and I understand they have both marched to the Tuilleries, and sent in the commanding officers, who were charged with the expressions of their desire for an immediate change of ministry. General Jacquemenot received the officers, and promised to convey their wishes to his Majesty. It is understood that all the different legions of the National Guard will follow their example to-morrow, should the King's answer not be favourable.

One cannot but deeply regret the obstinate blindness which has pushed matters to this extremity. I understand there has just been an announcement that the King has yielded to the wishes of the people, and dismissed the Ministers.

Feb. 23. 6 P.M.

So it is said the Guizot Ministry is gone at last! If this was obtained by any other means, I cannot say that there would be the slightest mixture in the feelings with which I regard the event. Still it says but little for the progress of regular Constitutional Government that the intervention of armed National Guards should be necessary to force a change of ministry from the Sovereign whose reign began behind the barricades. One cannot help feeling how much the stability of everything here has been shaken by all that has passed within the last two days. There was always a distrust of the King's sincerity; there is no longer any belief in his sagacity, since he has been so blind to the signs of public opinion. I have little doubt that he was within four and twenty hours of losing his crown. I have just heard that he has sent for Molé. With a great regard, and indeed affection, for him, as an old friend, I doubt his being quite up to the difficulties of the position, so much aggravated by the manner in which he arrives at the Ministry. I saw Molé this morning, when he was very far from expecting such an imminent summons; indeed, it was only at twelve o'clock that the National Guard declared itself, and changed the face of affairs.

There is one thing of which I have no doubt,
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that Molé will be very firm with the King.* The Prince de Ligne has just been with me. He tells me rather a curious incident, as showing the strange mixture there is in the character of this people. He says that his *quartier* was left for four and twenty hours without the protection of a single soldier, whilst the mob, very insignificant in numbers, built up barricades and cut the gas-pipes. When they came to his house, one of the mob in a blouse said, "Respectez le droit des gens : c'est une ambassade!"

Feb. 24.

Events have succeeded each other within the last four and twenty hours with a rapidity unexampled in any former revolution, and the greatest changes have been produced by the most unexpected inci-

* I lived much, and especially during the worst days of the Revolution, with one now passed away from the circle he then adorned,—one whose bright intellect and acute perception of passing events, whose affectionate disposition, kind heart, and well-stored mind made him worthy the great name he had inherited,—a name with him, alas! extinguished. Nursed to patient endurance and submission to the will of Providence amidst the fearful scenes of 1793, matured to the public service by the experience of the Empire and the two succeeding dynasties, the friendship of such a man as Comte Molé,—a friendship of long standing, though interrupted by the necessary separation occasioned by active pursuits in different countries, but at this time developed under circumstances of painful interest,—will ever be gratefully cherished by me as affording some of my happiest moments, even during those dark days which almost extinguished social intercourse throughout France.

dents. At the time I concluded my last observations yesterday evening, there seemed every reason to suppose that the population of Paris had received for the moment the full satisfaction they desired in the dismissal of the Ministers, obtained as it had been by the National Guard demanding it as the price of their allegiance. It was impossible not to perceive how much this had already shaken the fabric of regular Government, and how much this overt act of the National Guard had altered the character of the demonstration.

The demonstration on the Monday, though very numerous, was perfectly peaceable wherever there were large masses collected, and only mischievous on the part of small bands in different quarters of the town. The great mistake committed by the Government at this period of the affair was, that after having announced their intention to call out the National Guard on Monday morning, they recalled the order and it was only at dusk, and under the apprehension that those who had hitherto been merely idle spectators might, at night, take to plunder, that the "*rappel*" beat. The National Guard, disgusted with the distrust which had been shown, and the nature of the service alone confided to them, assembled but partially; and the next morning, when they were again called out, the political feeling soon showed itself in a manner which made it evident that no reliance could be placed upon them by the Government. Several

legions marched to the Tuileries, and deputations from the officers of the other arrondissements met them there; and, as related yesterday, the King became convinced that he had no alternative but to dismiss his Ministers, and he summoned Count Molé. The announcement of the dissolution of the Guizot Cabinet was received with enthusiasm. The funds at once rose half per cent.; many of the barricades were destroyed by the people who had raised them; a considerable portion of Paris was spontaneously illuminated. Mobs proceeded to the houses of M. Thiers and M. Odilon Barrot, and others, cheering under the windows, as might occur in London before the residence of any popular leaders upon a similar occasion. Up to this moment, all appeared calculated to inspire hopes that, the real cause of the discontent being removed, the town would again to-day resume its tranquillity; when an unexpected incident—a casualty, as it would almost seem—completely changed the face of affairs, and produced events, the effects of which it is impossible not to foresee will long be felt throughout Europe. A mob of about a hundred and fifty, many of them armed, followed by a curious crowd, had been proceeding in different directions, requiring that the houses should be illuminated. They had succeeded in this at the *Ministère de la Justice*, as I am told, and intended to require the same at the *Ministère des Affaires Étrangères*, from which, however, M. Guizot is said

to have already removed himself. Upon the arrival of the crowd before the hotel, a single shot, by whom fired will, perhaps, never be ascertained, but coming from the direction of the garden-wall, broke the leg of the horse on which the major commanding the detachment of the 14th regiment of the line was mounted. He immediately, without the slightest notice, gave an order to fire a volley into the crowd, which had been collected before the hotel. It is stated that no less than fifty-two people, many of them women and children, were killed or wounded. An English gentleman, Mr. Henry Fitzroy, who was walking quietly along on the other side of the Boulevards, told me that some fell on each side of him. The crowd immediately dispersed into the different quarters of Paris from which they had been collected, shouting "Vengeance!" and "Treachery!" The barricades were reconstructed, new ones were formed in various parts of Paris, and when morning came it found the whole population in the greatest state of exasperation. Many of the middle classes, who had hitherto remained quiet, became indignant at this, which at first sight was supposed to have been a massacre ordered by superior authority. Some attributed it to M. Guizot, who, however, I have reason to believe had nothing whatever to do with it, and was not even there. Others, unfortunately, openly ascribed what they termed treachery to the King. From the very beginning

of this disastrous affair, the misfortune has been that as offence was taken at the King's speech, and as it was generally believed that the words were his own, the disposition has been to attribute every unpopular act to his Majesty personally; and this incident occurring in the interval, after the dismissal of his Ministers, increased the exasperation against the King, and rendered any arrangement difficult. In the course of the night Count Molé had announced that the time was passed when it was possible for him to be of service to his Majesty, and that nothing remained for him but to send for MM. Thiers and Odilon Barrot, Duvergier d'Haurain, Rémusat, and one or two others. It appears that one of the consequences of the unfortunate affray last night was to cause a manifestation on the part of the troops of the line, that they did not approve of that which was called the massacre committed by the 14th regiment. The sympathies of the troops had already been suspected yesterday; and though the cause of the first act of the Thiers Ministry this morning, in ordering the withdrawal of the regular troops from Paris, has been differently interpreted, I have reason to believe that it was occasioned by the necessity of preserving some appearance of military discipline, which a few more hours in Paris would have completely disorganised.

Any imperfection in the recital which I am endeavouring to carry on of such unexpected

events, is the natural consequence of the communications with various parts of Paris being cut off by numerous barricades; and though the withdrawal of the troops and the disbanding of the Municipal Guard has put an end to the fighting, all is still confusion, and reports repeated from mouth to mouth are sure to be exaggerated. The last conflict took place this morning about ten o'clock, at a *corps de garde* in this neighbourhood, where the Municipal Guard were summoned to surrender the post by the people; and, refusing to do it, firing commenced on both sides, several were killed, the post carried and plundered.

I have just heard that the disposition shown by the people has led to the abdication of the King in favour of the Count de Paris, under the Regency of the Duchess of Orleans. King Louis Philippe is said to have left Paris about an hour since, taking the road to St. Cloud.

Feb. 24.

Within the last hour or two matters have looked much worse. The abdication of the King is confirmed. A proclamation has been issued, signed Odilon Barrot, Minister of the Interior, announcing this event in favour of the Comte de Paris. This, I am told, was very coldly received; and though the Duchess of Orleans appeared with her two sons

at the Chamber of Deputies, and the abdication of the King was announced, the tribunes having been all filled by the people, such Deputies as were then present declined to pledge themselves to any form of government till the nation had been consulted. There has been a Provisional Government established, the precise nature of which, at this late hour, I cannot exactly ascertain, whether merely for the safety of the capital or for the temporary government of the kingdom. I trust the former, though the names given are mostly those of known Republicans: Lamartine, Arago, Garnier Pâgès, Marie, Ledru-Rollin, Crémieux, and Louis Blanc, Secretary. There is another proclamation signed Lamoricière, Commandant of the National Guard.

My own course, till I receive further instructions from Her Majesty's Government, is to remain perfectly quiet here, giving all the protection that may be possible to the English residents, and being merely an observer of the political events that are passing around me. I cannot but hope that tomorrow may bring some signs of a settled future; but nothing can be more gloomy for the prospects of a great country than the complete anarchy which exists at this moment.

I am afraid, from the last I hear, that there is now little chance of anything but a Republic here. Much of the character of the Government must depend upon how we get through to-night. If the National Guards have still energy enough to keep

order and to prevent the mob from plundering, there must be a reaction to-morrow. I saw Molé at twelve o'clock this morning, who then thought that the King might be saved by the Thiers and Barrot ministry. How events have succeeded each other in the last few hours !

Lady Normanby remains here and keeps up her spirits very well ; but there is no police at present or troops, and many of the National Guards walk about with very suspicious-looking companions, so we have nothing to trust to but our strong gates and "*le droit des gens.*"

The late Ministry, consisting of Guizot, Duchâtel, and others, only escaped this morning from the Home Office.

It is said that the King is gone by railroad to Rouen.

10 P.M.—If the events, which usually occupy three or four years of history, have been crowded into the last eight-and-forty hours, it is impossible to condense into any hurried recital criticisms upon the follies which have caused them, and which might occupy volumes of print. This is not the moment to tell of the extraordinary want of all adequate military arrangement which has much contributed to produce this deplorable result. Throughout the whole time hardly one order ever arrived in time to all the troops crowded into Paris, upon whom the obstinacy of the Government persisted on relying exclusively. Not the slightest

pains seem to have been taken beforehand to inform themselves of their spirit. Then, in the last few hours, how many reputations have been used up and proved inadequate to the occasion. Decent care, instead of sending *all* the troops out of Paris, would have provided a sufficient guard, some of the mounted National Guard, which would have protected the Chamber of Deputies from the invasion of the mob into the tribunes, and would thereby have secured the proclamation of the Count of Paris and the Regency of the Duchess of Orleans: but panic seems to have seized every one, and the Provisional Government was, I understand, voted by not more than twenty Deputies.

It seems almost impossible in this age but that there must be a reaction. One cannot believe that a great nation like this can really submit permanently to the dictation of a few low demagogues, none of them, except Lamartine, of any personal following, but hoisted into power by base desertion of duty on the part of all the armed forces, and at the pleasure of the very scum of the earth. In any other country, at any other time, I should say there was sure to be a reaction; but Louis Philippe's reign has so completely demoralised public feeling, there is now nothing to look to. Such is unfortunately the general opinion as to the Revolution of July, that when the mob carried away the throne from the Tuilleries to-day, they said they did so because *he* had stolen it.

I still think after a night's reflection courage may return to those who ought never to have lost it, and there may be a chance for the Comte de Paris.

The National Guard in our arrondissement are at their post, and say they trust to be able to maintain order, *such as it is*, through the night.

CHAP. III.

THE NATIONAL GUARDS AT THEIR POSTS.—ACT OF AbdICATION.—PROCLAMATION OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.—IMPROVED APPEARANCE OF THE STREETS.—ANXIETY RESPECTING THE OPINION OF GREAT BRITAIN.—THE DUCHESS OF MONTPENSIER.—HUMILIATION OF THE ROYAL FAMILY.—MADAME DE C. AND HER JEWELS.—NEUILLY AND SURESNES PLUNDERED AND BURNED.—THE ELYSÉE BOURBON THREATENED.—THE DUCHESS OF ORLEANS AND HER CHILDREN IN THE CHAMBER.—THE DUC DE NEMOURS.—M. SAUZET.—INVASION OF THE CHAMBER BY THE MOB.—LAMARTINE NOMINATED PRESIDENT OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.—THE TRICOLOURED AND RED FLAGS.—MANIFESTO ADDRESSED TO THE NAVY.—THE COUNTESS OF GREAT BRITAIN, A PREMIUM FOR MODERATION.—CESSATION OF FUNCTIONS AS AMBASSADOR.—CONVERSATION WITH M. LAMARTINE ON THE CAUSES OF THE DOWNFALL OF LOUIS-PHILIPPE, AND ON THE STATE OF FRANCE.

Feb. 25.

THE night passed off in comparative tranquillity. The National Guard assembled well at all their posts, and I have not heard of any pillage; but in the Champs Elysées and in one part of the Faubourg there has been continued firing, I believe principally by boys and others, who had taken the arms and accoutrements from the troops yesterday morning, as they marched out of Paris. I mentioned yesterday, that I had heard different

versions given of the order conveyed verbally by M. Thiers and M. Odilon Barrot to the officers commanding the troops to retire from Paris, but that the one most credited was, a desire to save the military discipline of the troops, who had already shown that no reliance could be placed upon their allegiance. However, I have since heard, on the authority of a general who was on the spot, and who, in political opinions, agrees with Messrs. Thiers and Barrot, that this was not at all the case: that the best military dispositions had been just taken by Marshal Bugeaud, who had only that morning assumed the command of the garrison: that the troops were very much encouraged by seeing him at their head, and there would still have been every prospect of saving some appearance of law and social order, but when the troops were told to march out of Paris, they became completely demoralised, fraternised with the people, and allowed their cartridges, and, in some instances, their arms, to be taken from them. If this was so, much of the responsibility of the disgraceful turn which affairs from this moment took, must rest upon the one act of the Thiers-Barrot administration; for I hear that the abdication was not regularly advised by them. The National Guards, mixed with the people, were in full march upon the Tuilleries, and the latter, threatening the life of the King, when Emile Girardin, the editor of the "Presse" newspaper, who was in advance as an

officer of the National Guard, hastily drew up an act of abdication, and placed it before his Majesty, as the only means of safety. The King at first refused, saying, he would rather die; but the Duc de Montpensier urged him, not only for his own sake, but to save his country from confusion. The King at last signed it, and threw it impetuously at the Duc de Montpensier, who, I believe, has been in favour of conciliatory counsels throughout.*

The Royal Family then retired through the garden, the King saying to every one as he passed, "J'abdique, j'abdique." The act by which the Duchess of Orleans was named Regent was unfortunately, though much less arbitrary, as illegal as the use which the republicans made of the mistake; the Duc de Nemours, in the event of the succession of the Comte de Paris, having been already named Regent by the Legislature.

* I heard at the time that his Queen, who had shown as accurate an appreciation of public duty as she had always done of the faithful exercise of private virtues, interposed a contrary opinion, and seizing the King by the arm, said, "Sire ! n'abdiquez pas ; montez à cheval, mettez-vous à la tête de vos troupes, et je prierai Dieu pour vous."

Lamartine, in his History published in the autumn of the same year, puts words somewhat to the same effect into her Majesty's mouth; and he adds, what I had not heard from any other source, that at the last moment before the act was consummated, Marshal Bugeaud again, for the last time, in the presence of his sovereign, opposed "un avis qui ne sauvera rien et qui peut tout perdre."

The event of this morning is, that the Fort of Vincennes has surrendered to the people, and as thereby they have acquired an immense supply of arms, I am assured this will give additional vigour to the most violent counsels.

I copy from the "Moniteur" the two first acts and ordonnances of the Provisional Government, showing how the Executive and its Ministers is constituted:—

"Paris, le 24 Février.

"AU NOM DU PEUPLE FRANÇAIS.

"Proclamation du Gouvernement Provisoire au Peuple Français.

"Un gouvernement rétrograde et oligarchique vient d'être renversé par l'héroïsme du peuple de Paris. Ce gouvernement s'est enfui en laissant derrière lui une trace de sang qui lui défend de revenir jamais sur ses pas.

"Le sang du peuple a coulé comme en Juillet ; mais cette fois ce généreux sang ne sera pas trompé. Il a conquis un gouvernement national et populaire en rapport avec les droits, les progrès et la volonté de ce grand et généreux peuple. Un gouvernement provisoire sorti d'acclamations et d'urgence par la voix du peuple et des députés

des départements dans la séance du 24 Février est investi momentanément, au soin d'assurer et d'organiser la victoire nationale.

“ Il est composé de

“ MM. Dupont (de l'Eure).

„ Lainartine.

„ Crémieux.

„ Arago (de l'Institut).

„ Ledru-Rollin.

„ Garnier-Pagès.

„ Marie.

“ Ce gouvernement a pour secrétaires,

“ MM. Armand Marrast.

„ Louis Blanc.

„ Ferdinand Flocon et

„ Albert.

“ Ces citoyens n'ont pas hésité un instant à accepter la mission patriotique qui leur était imposée par l'urgence. Quand la capitale de la France est en feu, le mandat du gouvernement provisoire est dans le salut public. La France entière le comprendra et lui prêtera le concours de son patriotisme. Sous le gouvernement populaire que proclame le gouvernement provisoire tout citoyen est magistrat.

“ Français, donnez au monde l'exemple que

Paris a donné à la France; préparez-vous par l'ordre et la confiance en vous-mêmes aux institutions fortes que vous allez être appelés à vous donner. Le gouvernement provisoire veut la république sauf ratification par le peuple qui sera immédiatement consulté.

“ L'unité de la nation formée désormais de toutes les classes de citoyens qui la composent; le gouvernement démocratique que la France se doit à elle-même et que nos efforts sauront lui assurer.

“ DUPONT (de l'Eure).

LAMARTINE.

CRÉMIEUX.

LEDRU-ROLLIN.

GARNIER-PAGÈS.

LOUIS BLANC.

ARMAND MARRAST. } Secrétaires.”

“ AU NOM DU PEUPLE FRANÇAIS.

“ *Le gouvernement provisoire arrête:*—

“ M. Dupont (de l'Eure) est nommé président provisoire du conseil, sans portefeuille.

“ M. de Lamartine, ministre provisoire aux affaires étrangères.

- " M. Crémieux, ministre provisoire à la justice.
- " M. Ledru-Rollin, ministre provisoire à l'intérieur.
- " M. Michel Goudchaux, ministre provisoire aux finances.
- " M. François Arago, ministre provisoire à la marine.
- " M. le Général Bedeau, ministre provisoire à la guerre.
- " M. Carnot, ministre provisoire à l'instruction publique. (Les cultes formeront une division de ce ministère.)
- " M. Bethmont, ministre provisoire au commerce.
- " M. Marie, ministre provisoire aux travaux publics.
- " M. le Général Cavaignac, gouverneur-général de l'Algérie.
- " La garde municipale est dissoute.
- " M. Garnier-Pagès est nommé maire de Paris.
- " MM. Guinard et Recurt sont nommés adjoints du maire de Paris.
- " M. Flotard est nommé secrétaire général.
- " Tous les autres maires de Paris, ainsi que les maires adjoints, sont provisoirement maintenus comme maires et adjoints d'arrondissements.
- " La préfecture de police est sous la dépendance du maire de Paris.
- " Le maintien de la sûreté de la ville de Paris est confié au patriotisme de la garde nationale, sous le commandement général donné à M. le Colonel de Courtois.

"A la garde nationale se réuniront les troupes qui appartiennent à la 1^e division militaire.

"AD. CRÉMIEUX.

LAMARTINE.

MARIE.

GARNIER-PAGÈS.

DUPONT (de l'Eure).

LEDRU-ROLLIN.

ARAGO.

"Membres du gouvernement provisoire."

I visited on foot some part of the town in the afternoon, and saw a marked improvement in the appearance of the streets. There were even some well-dressed women walking about, in apparent security. I hear that many respectable people are enrolling themselves in the National Guard who never showed there before; and but for the entire demoralisation of the troops, one really might hope for the supremacy of order; but when one hears of the quantity of arms taken from the arsenals, in the hands of irresponsible people, one feels that the chances are not favourable. The exertions of the Provisional Government, under the extraordinary difficulties of their position, seem to be very praiseworthy. I had a private visit this afternoon from D'Alton Shee, who does not belong to the Government, but who is a great friend of Lamartine's,

to say that the latter had requested him, should he see me, to express to me how anxiously they were labouring to diminish the dangers of the situation; that they (or, at least, he himself) had not sought that position, but that they were there because they felt it was the only chance of safety for their country, and they were very anxious indeed to know what line Great Britain was likely to take. I told him that this was a subject upon which I could give no indication of an opinion,—that my official character here had ceased with the abdication of the King; but that from my intimate acquaintance with M. Lamartine, in other times, and from his honourable character, I felt convinced (though I differed from most of his opinions, and regretted the position in which he had been placed) he would do his best to re-establish confidence in personal safety. I said it must naturally be his desire to diminish as much as possible the impression produced by these late events; and as Lamartine knew England, and the effect that would be produced by the first reports, I recommended him to take care that every facility should be given at the outports for the embarkation of those going away, and that persons furnished with my passports should not be harassed with unnecessary formalities, which would remind them of what they had heard of the bad days of the first Revolution. This, Count D'Alton Shee assured me, he was convinced, would quite fall in with

Lamartine's views; I mentioned it, thinking that possibly it might produce a useful effect in particular cases.

Feb. 25.

There was a general report yesterday evening, that the Duchess of Montpensier was missing, having been forgotten in the precipitate flight of the rest of the Royal Family from the Tuileries. This was so far confirmed to me, that a person told me soon after the departure of the King, he could hardly believe his eyes when he saw the young Princess quite alone, wandering bewildered on the outskirts of the crowd near the Palace. In answer to my very natural question why he did not at once offer his assistance, this person replied, that his first impulse was to do so, though he was perfectly unknown to Her Royal Highness, but that in the then temper of the mob he did not like the responsibility of attracting attention to her, and he thought her best chance of safety was in being not only unrecognised but unsuspected. Considering the pains that had been taken to make that Château her home, the sacrifices at which that object had been attained, and the triumphant reception with which she had been so recently welcomed there, it does appear strange that no one should have been found to make

it his duty to secure the retreat of one so young, so gentle, so helpless, and so beautiful, who had therefore, even upon strangers, such combined claims to protection, wherever a vestige of chivalry is left in the world. No one, however, who has not actually lived through such days as are now passing, can have any idea how little, amidst such confusion, the presence of mind of the most practised suffices to provide against all contingencies. At such moments the duty that is the most pressing and obvious becomes the most imperative, however little it may be the most important. Every species of humiliation seems to have been accumulated on this unhappy family within the last three days. In all human reverses the suddenness of the shock is the greatest aggravation; and the confident security in which I left the King on Monday night, must have added to the bitterness of the pang with which he yesterday sought the *Place Louis XV.* (a spot of such evil omen to his family), not, 'tis true, like his own father, or one of his predecessors and kinsmen, to lay down his life, but to separate himself from everything which had long been the boast and the pride of that life. Of all those courtly flatterers, who had so recently hailed that Royal daring which, in its lofty disregard of consequences, had revived the policy of Louis XIV., and who had pleased his ear by adding that his was also the worldly wisdom and sagacity which could bring that policy to a more successful issue, not one was near him. As he with

difficulty ascended the steps of the hired carriage, he was assisted on one side by M. Crémieux, an uncourtly deputy of the extreme Left, whom the "Moniteur" of this morning announces as a member of the Provisional Government, and on the other side the door was closed by a strong Legitimist, whose name I will not mention, who bowing to the King, his Majesty thanked him, and the other replied: "Pas du tout, il y a dix-sept ans que j'attends ce jour."

"Ill-weaved ambition, how much art thou shrunk!"

But to return to her whose presence in this country was so closely connected with the last fatal dream of that insatiable ambition. At that very moment, that interesting and illustrious child, only now just sixteen (and, if the courtly announcements of the last few weeks are to be believed, bearing with her the future object of the combined hopes of Spain and France, and of the exaggerated apprehensions of England), was wandering about utterly alone, every moment in danger of becoming the mark for popular fury, and her only protection against insult being the apparent impossibility that one so cherished could be found in such a piteous and deserted plight. I am happy to say that for the present I am reassured as to her safety: at seven o'clock this morning I received a visit from two ladies, who arrived at an hour and in a manner calculated to avoid observation;

one was officially attached to the person of one of the Princesses, the other merely a devoted private friend. They came to request me * * * * * and I hastened to do all they wished.

One could not help an inward reflection upon the contrast between the arrival of the Duchesse de Montpensier in the land of her adoption not much more than a year since, and the way in which she was now about to quit it, perhaps for ever. All Europe had then been summoned to the Tuileries, through its diplomatic representatives, to offer combined congratulations on the auspicious nuptials. From the attitude which the British Government had assumed as to these nuptials, its representative alone could not assist at that ceremonial, though hastening to take the earliest opportunity of paying his personal respects to Her Royal Highness as a *de facto* French Princess. And now it was through the intervention of that very Ambassador that she was about, under an assumed name, to reach the land of universal refuge. God speed her on her way! May she find in that domestic happiness, which need not be of any climate or of any country, the redeeming point of her married lot, since a sudden blight has fallen upon those ambitious hopes, of which she was rather the unconscious instrument than the self-chosen object.

Feb. 26.

Throughout the night there was in this part of the town less wanton firing, and more apparent tranquillity than during the preceding one. But this morning early, perhaps the most critical moment arrived, as far as our own safety was concerned. At half-past seven, our friend and neighbour Madame de C., who lives in one of the large hotels between the *Ambassade* and the *Elysée Bourbon*, rushed to our house in her dressing-gown, and desired to see Lady N.; she had brought with her for safety all her jewels, and stated that she had just been awakened by her husband, who had been on duty with the National Guard all night, and had told her that the mob, after burning Neuilly* and Suresnes†, had arrived at the *Elysée Bourbon* with the same purpose, and that if they were not prevented in time, with the violent wind then blowing, nothing could save the adjoining houses from destruction. Torches had already been applied to the most combustible portion of the building, when the small detachment of the National Guard stationed at the Palace was turned out to oppose these incen-

* Neuilly, the country palace of Louis-Philippe, about a league from the town.

† Suresnes, a beautiful villa belonging to Baron Salomon de Rothschild, full of objects of art and luxury, completely gutted and burnt to the ground.

diaries ; they fixed bayonets and charged. How much depended at that moment upon the comparative courage of those men representing the contending forces of order and anarchy ! Since the mob had stormed the Tuilleries their will had never been opposed ; they quailed before the resolute attitude of these few brave men of the 1st Legion, and gave way. The flames were extinguished and the Palace saved for the time. Immediately afterwards " Ambulance Nationale !" was chalked upon its façade for its future protection.

This morning a considerable agitation exists throughout Paris, fed from time to time by the accounts which arrive from the provinces, and the reports spread every half-hour by exaggerated alarmists. At the same time there is no doubt that this must be a most anxious day : already last night there were rumours that an attempt would be made on the part of the Communists to overthrow the existing government. There are at this moment, I am told, six thousand men, well disposed and determined to defend the cause of order, assembled round the Hôtel-de-Ville, and if this day passes without reverse, I trust the town may be considered safe from the dreadful scenes which were anticipated last night. I hear from every one that the conduct of M. de Lamartine throughout the whole of yesterday was admirable. By the force of his eloquence and its power over the people, he obtained the rejection of every violent proposition, and, if his

health, which is very delicate, permits him to be constantly present throughout the day, great progress will, through his influence, be made towards re-establishing confidence. I have just had a visit from a Captain of the 1st Legion of the National Guard, who was brought here by false intelligence that I had demanded a guard, and offering, on the part of his Colonel, any amount of protection that might be desired. I thanked him cordially for the offer, but stated that I considered my best protection was the official character I bore, and I had no reason as yet to doubt that I could with confidence rely upon the respect which that position universally commands; but that in case of any attempt being made upon the Hôtel by the anarchists, I should rely upon the spirit which had dictated this offer, and, as their head-quarters were in my neighbourhood, should feel assured they would not be wanting at the proper moment. The opinion of this officer was reassuring as to the appearance of Paris at this moment; he said the Government were now surrounded by sufficient force to make themselves obeyed, and at most of the posts of the National Guards persons of all ranks were coming to enrol themselves for the protection of order, and resistance to the intimidation of the anarchists.

About an hour after the officer of the 1st Legion of the National Guard had left me I received another offer of protection on the part of some Irish gentlemen, one of whom was Mr. John O'Connell, stating

that there were nearly two hundred of them, visitors in Paris, who had agreed to procure themselves arms, and come to garrison the Embassy so long as there should be any danger of that universal confusion which would respect no station or character; and it was added they were anxious to be allowed to do this in order to show the feelings still retained towards myself by the Irish people. This too at a moment when, I am sorry to say, I had seen some few of my countrymen walking about the streets with bits of red ribbon in their button-hole, thus purchasing their personal safety by an apparent adherence to the emblem of anarchy—the red flag*; therefore, though I could, of course, still less accept this offer than the previous one, I was all the more touched by this proof of the kindly recollection of these warm-hearted natives of that country where I had passed so many happy days.

I have just seen D'Alton Shee, who makes the same report as to improvement. I am of course writing without as yet having received my instructions from her Majesty's Government as to future conduct; but whatever may be the ultimate decision as to recognising or not the *de facto* government of France, I am in hopes, if the present aspect of affairs should continue, that I

* I may add, that the outcry against foreigners had already made itself heard amongst the mob, which so soon afterwards led to the expulsion of so many English workmen, and the summary discharge of so many English servants.

may not be required to take any sudden decision as to my departure from hence. The communication from her Majesty's Government will, from local position, precede that of any other Power; therefore, if I were ordered to withdraw myself, it would be the first hostile demonstration, and would no doubt turn the feeling of the people, not only against England, but possibly against English persons and property still in their power in different parts of France. Should hopeless anarchy unhappily prevail, that would be no atmosphere for an ambassador to breathe; but I really think that the exertions of the Provisional Government during the last four-and-twenty hours for the re-establishment of order have been prodigious, such as, at any rate, show them to be men of capacity, likely to exercise influence in the country should they succeed in controlling the evil passions still afloat in a population, which finds itself in arms owing to the unaccountable submission and connivance of the troops.

Upon reading this over, I can perceive myself, by the somewhat varying character of this report during its progress amidst conflicting rumours, how little one can speak even as to the issue of the events of the passing day.

Feb. 26.

In all the previous records, whenever I have endeavoured to treat of the principal incidents which had occurred in the course of discussions in the Chamber of Deputies, I have noted down, immediately upon my return from thence, the result of my own personal observations, and I have trusted thus to preserve them with tolerable accuracy; but here I really begin to doubt the possibility; because, not having assisted at what occurred during its last sitting the day before yesterday, I find all the accounts, which have been brought to me, varying in such essential particulars, that I do not know on which to rely. This uncertainty may perhaps arise from the fact that, except during a few short moments in the afternoon, the main interest was no longer there. It had become evident that, whether it might or might not be possible to save the Monarchy, the Chamber was already doomed and could not recover. Yet still, "*in extremis*," it might have devoted its last moments to testamentary dispositions which had some chance of being respected, as, till actually dissolved, it was all that remained to give legal sanction to what was to succeed; and no doubt it was with this view that it was unfortunately resorted to by the Regent of the hour, the Duchess of Orleans, accompanied by her children. As to the important points of its

short and confused sitting, I place most reliance upon the account I have this morning received from an old acquaintance of mine, a Deputy of the "*Ancienne Gauche*," whom I had known since the days of my government in Ireland, when he had given me the pleasure of a visit accompanied by another friend. My informant had some conversation with M. Lamartine just before he entered the Chamber, who had promised him to support the Regency of the Duchess with all the influence which many circumstances had combined to give him within the last few days.* The entrance of the Duchess of Orleans into the Chamber could not be seen without a touching interest; but it entirely failed in producing that striking effect which alone in France promises a successful issue; and by all accounts she was ill seconded by those parliamentary agents who ought at once to have assisted a woman, a princess, a widow, and a mother, under those critical circumstances. Nothing could be more praiseworthy than the disinterestedness,

* M. Lamartine states in his History, that in one of the bureaux of the Chamber he had an interview with many Republican leaders, who offered him, if he thought France was not yet ripe for a Republic, to support the Regency through the agency of all their brother republicans, and to place their confidence in him as Minister of that Regency. He gives at some length the answer he made to them, and the reasons which induced him to surprise them with the conclusion: "Je n'entrerai que dans un mouvement complet, c'est-à-dire la République." We must suppose this was after he had spoken with my informant.

indeed, the self-devotion, of the part assumed by the Duc de Nemours, in appearing there personally to renounce the power which the law had conferred upon him, and to sustain his sister-in-law in her assumption of his rights; but a resolution, however noble, founded upon a consciousness of unpopularity, does not excite enthusiasm; and his Royal Highness was never demonstrative. Graceful, dignified, and interesting as was at that moment the deportment of the Duchess of Orleans, she did nothing because no one suggested to her what to do, and she wanted one quality, which alone at such a crisis would have appealed successfully to the national sympathies,—she was not a Frenchwoman. The conduct of M. Sauzet, as President, has been represented to me by persons of all parties by the expressive word “pitoyable”: he appears to have entirely lost his head. M. Dupin failed in producing his usual effect from the Tribune; had he been in the *Fauteuil* instead of M. Sauzet, the result might have been different. General Oudinot, the son of the Marshal lately dead, was the only person who by his frank soldierlike presence of mind, seemed for a time to render the triumph of the Regency possible.* At this moment

* M. Lamartine mentions in his account that at this time he merely rose from his seat and suggested that the discussion should be adjourned out of respect to the presence of the Princess. This incident was not mentioned to me by any one at the time. This omission may have arisen from its not having produced, amidst the confusion, the impression he supposed. He says he did not mount the Tribune.

my informant approached M. Lamartine, who sat in his usual bench, the lower of the extreme right of the Chamber, with his face buried in his hands, and whispered in his ear, "Now is your time to fulfil your intention, and confirm the Regency." Scarcely raising his head or removing his hands, he replied: "Je ne parlerai pas tant que cette femme y restera." And my informant saw at once there was nothing to be expected from him, and that the most to be hoped was, that he would not himself suggest the Republic.* M. Marie, a very

* M. Lamartine, writing some months later, gives a short sketch of the speech he says he was tempted to make in favour of the Regency, which I copy verbatim.

"Levez-vous ! vous êtes la veuve de ce Duc d'Orléans dont le peuple a couronné en vous la mort et le souvenir ! vous êtes les enfants privés de ce père et adoptés par la nation ! vous êtes les innocents et les victimes des fautes du Trône, les hôtes et les suppliants du peuple ! vous, vous sauvez du Trône dans une révolution ! cette révolution est juste, elle est généreuse, elle est Française ! Elle ne combat pas des femmes et des enfants ! Elle n'hérite pas des veuves et des orphelins. Elle ne dépouille pas des prisonniers et des hôtes ! Allez régner ! Elle vous rend par compassion le trône perdu par les fautes dont vous n'êtes que les victimes. Les ministres de votre aïeul ont dilapidé votre héritage. Le peuple vous le rend. Il vous a adopté, il sera votre aïeul lui-même. Vous n'aviez qu'un prince pour tuteur, vous aurez une mère et une nation. . . ."

It is difficult for me to pronounce what at the moment would have been the success of such a course. Upon retrospection he anticipates that it would have carried the Regency, and if so, it seems strange that writing when every expectation founded upon the opposite course which he did take had so miserably failed, he does not seem to regret for the sake of his country, as well as of himself, that he did not adhere to his first impulse.

respectable barrister, in large practice, but of no great personal weight, and very advanced in his political opinions, then proposed a Provisional Government, which was supported by M. Crémieux, who farther suggested that it should consist of five members.

A popular leader, whose ministry had begun and ended within the passing hours of that day, then entered. M. Odilon Barrot had been detained elsewhere. Powerful as his influence in his country had long been, and although the French people still felt towards him the sentiment nearest respect which they could retain for any one, yet, at this moment, his advent was inauspicious, inasmuch as it brought into hostile action the master spirit of the moment. All the witnesses of the scene, with whom I have spoken, concur in this, that M. Lamartine had hitherto buried his face in his hands, as if absorbed in meditation as to the course he should pursue, but, as M. Odilon Barrot slowly ascended the Tribune, he threw back his head, gazed fixedly upon him, and his whole attitude was that of defiance and opposition. I am far from asserting that his first feeling was, if the Regency is adopted, there stands its Counsellor and Director, but there is something in M. Odilon Barrot's deportment, and a certain air of conscious integrity blended with superior wisdom, which was likely to be peculiarly irritating to M. Lamartine's susceptibility. He has too much imagination, and one may

add too much expansive benevolence, where his *amour propre* is not affected, to be a very accurate analyst of human weaknesses, but he must be aware, that the disposition of all men's minds is to deny in others any combination of eminent qualities—ready to allow to any one only his *spécialité*, as we say here; and that in admiring him for his brilliancy as a poet and inspired writer, every one was predisposed not to recognise in him a statesman of practical wisdom or habits of business, and here he found himself brought in contact with the man whose assumption of those very qualities found ready belief with all.* But upon this occasion M. Odilon Barrot completely failed in producing the effect he anticipated. He was followed by M. La Rochejaquelein, who, in a few impassioned words, dressed those legitimist predilections, which he had inherited with the chivalrous recollections of his name, in the garb of republican declamation, telling the Chamber they were no longer anything; the people was all in all. Though at any other moment, M. La Rochejaquelein, with all his undoubted courage, would not have addressed this rhapsody to that assembly, yet the doctrine was not a new one with a portion of the Legitimist party; the "Gazette de France," under the direction of the Abbé de Genoude, has always held that

* Later on it will be found that on the 7th of May I had again to make the remark that his jealousy of M. Odilon Barrot affected, perhaps unconsciously, M. Lamartine's conduct.

the result of universal suffrage would be the restoration of their legitimate sovereign. I would by no means assert, that in moments of disappointment and discouragement at the substitute tried, such might not have been the case; but now the experiment will probably be made under circumstances most unfavourable to such a result; and who could now say what may not be the unexpected turn of universal suffrage in France?—the best chance will be for the utterly unknown. But upon this occasion the people seemed to respond to the call of M. La Rochejaquelein, to be raised by his invocation, and to take possession of the dominion he said had devolved upon them; masses of the population fresh from the triumph of the Tuileries, invaded the Chamber on all sides: the panic was general, confusion universal.

I have within the last four-and-twenty hours heard severe blame of the general who at that time commanded the troops in the Place Louis XV. for having permitted this invasion of the last sanctuary of the laws. All I can say is, that he is a person of great military reputation, of known loyalty, and undoubted courage; and when all neglected their duty, it is hard to fix upon one the stain of having betrayed it. Every revolutionary movement, succeeding each other with such rapidity during the last four-and-twenty hours, brought new men to the front, representing more extreme opinions. M. Ledru-Rollin, hitherto what the

French call "*déconsidéré*" within these walls, took the lead for a few minutes, renewed the proposal of a provisional government, but not, as M. Marie had moved, to be named by the Chamber, but *by the people*; meaning, of course, thereby the people present,—a band of three hundred blood-stained insurgents, who had just broken in, headed by a journeyman butcher, brandishing his slaughtering knife.

Then, indeed, did M. Lamartine pronounce himself, not without some remains of hesitation of opinion, which impeded the ordinary unembarrassed flow of his eloquence; but he had not concluded when another band of russians, more excited than the last, announced their advent by a discharge of musketry in the lobbies, and forced some of the other doors. The first impression seems to have been that these men knew how to use their fire-arms, and intended to do so. One of them, pointing his gun at the president, M. Sauzé dropped down from his chair untouched, and as president disappeared for ever.*

The Chamber being thus adjourned *de facto*,

* It is natural to suppose it must require more than the ordinary portion of nerve to sit in an isolated position, upon a highly-elevated chair, and be the mark of loaded muskets; and it will be seen that on the 15th of May a stern Republican—the first president of the National Assembly—did not more distinguish himself than the last president of the Chamber of Deputies. Indeed, the conduct of M. Bochéz on that occasion was even more "*pitoyable*."

most of the deputies left it, whilst the Duchess of Orleans still remained with her children for some time, utterly without assistance, but showing at least the outward calm of a heroine, till she was at last hurried away. The poor little Duc de Chartres, separated from his mother, was lost in the crowd, and not restored to her arms till the next morning; having been rescued from perils of every description by the care of M. J. de Lasteyrie. With the innocent unconcern of his age, he dropt asleep the moment he reached the shelter of that friendly roof.

It is impossible to collect any clear account of what then passed in the Chamber. M. Lamartine proposed that M. Dupont de l'Eure should occupy the President's chair, and urged him at once to proclaim a provisional government, handing the five names which completed the number, originally proposed by M. Marie; these he headed with that of M. Dupont de l'Eure, whose patriarchal experience in revolutions had given to his respected name a pre-eminence, which these very years prevented from being anything but nominal. M. Dupont de l'Eure — M. Lamartine — Ledru-Rollin — Arago — Garnier-Pagès and Marie*; but there was a seventh name appended, to the surprise of all, — that of M. Crémieux:

* It is singular that the five original names proposed by M. Lamartine should be the identical ones preserved afterwards in the unfortunate executive commission.

how did that happen? The story current to-day is, that, amidst the deafening turmoil, the names written down by Lamartine could not be heard when read from the President's chair by poor old Dupont de l'Eure. He transferred the list to the person standing next to him, who, having a weak voice, was equally inaudible. As it was important no time should be lost, these names were then given to M. Crémieux, who has the lungs of Stentor, and he added his own name, which was, amidst all the confusion, adopted with the others*; thus was appropriated, for the moment, one-seventh of absolute dominion over thirty-five millions of people.

The government adjourned to the Hôtel-de-Ville, and the doors of the Chamber closed for ever over the last vestiges of the Revolution of July.

Feb. 27.

My entries yesterday would show that so soon as there appeared a prospect of the restoration of order, I was most desirous that her Majesty's Government should not, in the shape of any in-

* Some time after, in mentioning this anecdote to a friend of mine, at that time in office, he said, "Tis quite true, for *I* was the man with the weak voice."

structions to myself, take what might be considered a hostile attitude towards the present provisional Government of France. At the moment I was recording these sentiments, I was surrounded by reports that made me still speak with great uncertainty as to the turn which events might take. Within an hour there had been a threatened attempt to burn the Elysée Bourbon, by a mob which had been repulsed by the firmness of the National Guard. There was at the same time fighting at the Hôtel-de-Ville, and an attempt made on the part of the extreme party to overturn the Provisional Government. The night before, I had received the most alarming accounts from persons, who were in the way of being well-informed, as to the possibly imminent triumph of the anarchical party, and the massacre and pillage which must be the consequence. Though it would have been the height of imprudence, when there was so little that was settled, to disregard entirely these warnings, yet I had myself remarked a decided improvement from the moment that resolute and educated men, of all parties and ranks, had come forward the day before, and enlisted themselves in the National Guard, for the maintenance of their property and the lives of their families. Still the peaceable result seemed, for the time, to depend upon the continued ascendancy of M. de Lamartine in the councils of the Provisional Government.

In a week like the present, four-and-twenty hours

have more effect in changing the face of events than might have four-and-twenty years in ordinary times. Since I wrote yesterday, every thing has tended to confirm my confidence in the stability of the present order of things. The ascendancy of M. de Lamartine has been confirmed, and whilst his efforts have been all exerted in the most laudable direction, the effect of his eloquence and the success of his energy have been shown in his nomination to the Presidency of the Provisional Government; the age and infirmity of M. Dupont de l'Eure having induced him to resign that which from the first was only nominal on his part.

The brigandage, which was the dreaded consequence of the disorder of the last few days, was repressed by vigorous measures. A band of twenty-four armed russians taken in the act of pillage were marched to a guard-house and shot.

At the very time this necessary act of severity was carried out, M. de Lamartine announced to the people, amidst universal cheers, that which was not accepted the day before—the abolition of the punishment of death for all political offences. This most virtuous act is the greater personal triumph to him, when we consider what were the details of the day before. The great contest between the two parties was upon the question of the change of flag, from tricoloured to red. M. de Lamartine said, with great energy, that the tricoloured flag had been waved in victory from one end of Europe to the

other, whilst the red was only known to the Champ de Mars, as having taken its colour from the blood of Frenchmen; and that, if they wished to remove the recollections of 1793, he would himself be the first victim. Making allowance for the difficulties of their position, I think many of the ordinances published by the Government during these last eight-and-forty hours do great credit to their political capacities.

Two or three very important events occurred yesterday. M. Arago, the Minister of Marine, summoned all the admirals at present in Paris, and with their sanction arranged the terms of a Manifesto to the Navy. Admiral Baudin, also, accepted the command of the Mediterranean fleet and left for Toulon. In the course of yesterday afternoon, I received visits from many persons of eminence of all the different parties of France,—adherents to the late Government, members of the late opposition, and legitimists,—all seemed to consider that the only present hope for the country was to rally round the existing Government, and trust in its efforts to moderate the popular feeling, and re-establish order and confidence. I see by this morning's "Journal des Débats," that M. Thiers and M. Odilon Barrot, two of the Ministers of the Duchess of Orleans, have given in their adhesion to the existing Government.

However little the form of Government, or the manner of its origin, may accord with British sym-

pathies, I cannot see in the present state of public opinion in France anything but mischief and blood-shed in any attempt at reaction, which would have the monarchical principle for its watchword ; while, if France is to be a republic, I am sure it is best that speedy encouragement should be then given to the virtuous efforts of the men at present in power, in order to make the change as little injurious as possible either to persons or property.

I will not pretend to deny that there are many dangers against which they will have to contend. Any resistance in the provinces would again exasperate the population of Paris, where the communist principle, though subdued for a time, still exists amongst a portion of those who produced the late change. Still any Assembly elected at this moment would probably confirm Lamartine at the head of affairs. There can be no greater premium offered at this moment for moderation and prudence in the settlement of affairs than the expectation that the countenance of Great Britain would not be withheld, provided their conduct continued to be such as to deserve it. It is on this account, without venturing to speculate in what shape this support should be given to a Government, which still only exists in a provisional form, that I think it very desirable I should at any rate be allowed for the present to remain, to watch the course of events on which I feel it possible I might indirectly by my presence exert some small influence. I think I

have duly estimated the state of public feeling in France; and by all that has latterly occurred, I am strongly reminded that I recorded, so long ago as the 30th of July last, the anticipations which I then entertained of the consequence of the blindness of the King and his Government, and that these anticipations have been fulfilled even sooner than I then expected.

Whilst I was writing down what is given above, I received a visit from Mr. Rush, the American Minister, accompanied by the Secretary of Legation, Mr. Martin.

It had been announced in this morning's newspapers that the American Minister had proceeded to the Hôtel-de-Ville, and acknowledged, on the part of the United States, the Provisional Government. Mr. Rush stated to me that it was not true he had as yet taken any such step, but he owned it was his intention so to do, and probably tomorrow; that he made the first communication to me; he considered his position peculiar, both from the geographical distance and the sympathy it was natural should be felt in his country for the new form of Government. I asked Mr. Rush whether this was merely a notification which he wished to make, or whether he desired me to give any personal opinion on it. Mr. Rush expressing his wish that I should say anything that occurred to me, I said that I perfectly understood that it would be impossible for him to wait for instruc-

tions from home before giving any expression of opinion ; and that the other difference to which he had alluded would most probably induce a point of separation between himself and at least some of his colleagues, but that I thought the step which he proposed was unusual and premature. I did not lay so much stress upon the mere fact that this only pretended to be a Provisional Government, and that almost before it ceased to be so he might receive instructions from home; but that at least at present it had not the consciousness itself that the time was come for the step he proposed, because I presumed he had received no notification from the Provisional Minister for Foreign Affairs, any more than the rest of the Corps Diplomatique; that I believed it was quite unheard-of for an individual without credentials to present himself officially to any Government which had opened no communications with his own; that probably, when M. de Lamartine addressed a circular to the Corps Diplomatique, they would meet at the request of the senior, and decide upon what course they should take; that the waiting for that customary occasion would limit him to nothing. It appeared to me that would be the natural moment for him to take his own line, not confining his answer to the dry acknowledgment of its receipt, which the others without instructions would probably give, but putting himself personally upon those terms with the Government which he desired

to establish ; and that, as he was only accredited to King Louis-Philippe, he could not well go much farther than this in the course he contemplated till he received fresh letters.

Mr. Rush listened very attentively to what I said, admitted there was much reason in it, and added that he would consider it ; but I am convinced he will still do as he announced, a course to which, in fact, he is probably already committed.

Feb. 28.

This morning at eight o'clock I received my first communication from home since the revolution, and between nine and ten made an unofficial visit to M. de Lamartine at his private residence. I explained to M. de Lamartine that my functions as ambassador having ceased with the abdication of the king to whom I was accredited, I could not present myself to him in that character, nor could I in any respect commit my Government for the future by anything I might then say ; but that I could not help taking the earliest opportunity, when I could hope to find him disengaged, of assuring him I felt convinced her Majesty's Government must, with myself, appreciate the immense services he had rendered to his country, to the cause of order, and the interest of civilisation with.

in the last few days. That this was to be understood as only giving my individual opinion, but that I knew that our rule always was to recognise any form of Government which seemed to promise permanency, which maintained security within, and gave no wanton cause of offence to its neighbours. The personal intimacy which had once subsisted between M. de Lamartine and myself induced him to receive this opening on my part with the utmost cordiality, and he placed me at once on the terms of the most unmeasured confidence, and stated he would have no secret of any kind from me; that his first desire was the complete development of the English alliance, that all his efforts should be directed to that object, and that in doing so he felt assured he was promoting the only true interests of France.

With reference to foreign politics, he said, there had existed at first great excitement on the subject of the frontiers and the treaties of 1815, and an idea had begun to prevail that it was necessary to make a war of Propagandism; he had calmed this feeling, and had studiously inserted in the circular to the Corps Diplomatique that the position of France in Europe remained the same, though the form of internal Government might be changed; he added they had no desire to attack any one,—on the contrary, they would give every guarantee against such intention; but that if any weaker state, struggling to maintain its inde-

pendence, should be attacked, they would feel it their duty to fly to the rescue ; otherwise they would look for the prevalence of liberal ideas, to the progress of intelligence, not to the force of arms ; that this was well understood, as he had this morning received most of the generals now in Paris, who had given in their adhesion to the Provisional Government, and not one of them had asked in a warlike sense for an occasion to use his sword. M. Lamartine then said, " This will be our general rule. Now, with regard to a question that has occupied you all lately, the Spanish marriages, to which Louis-Philippe owes his downfall. I always said that selfish object would be his ruin ; it drove him into a line of politics which the country would not stand. The Government will take an early opportunity of stigmatising that policy with regard to Spain as anti-national ; they desire in that country independent alliance, but no exclusive influence." M. Lamartine then turned to home affairs, and considering me as a private friend, spoke to me, with reference to some points, with an unreserve which obliges me for the present to respect his confidences, abstaining even from taking down any notes of his words. His description of the first sixty hours after the departure from the Chamber of Deputies revealed a state of things, I believe, unparalleled in any former history. M. Dupont de l'Eure, who had assisted at the scenes of the Convention, said that they had overcome greater dan-

gers and difficulties in that short space of time than had marked its whole duration; for during those sixty hours they were in the presence of an infuriated rabble, half drunk, and almost all armed. Nearly sixty thousand people filled the Place du Grève and its environs, in whose hands were twelve thousand muskets that had been taken from Vincennes before the Commissary had arrived there to save them. I saw on M. Lamartine's cheek the scratch which a bayonet had left, when he had first proposed the abolition of the punishment of death in political cases, and had added, "Why, if Louis-Philippe were here, no one would harm the poor old man." This excited their fury, and swords and bayonets were pointed against his person. He said, "Yes, begin with me if you must have a victim. Butchers! do you think you represent France?" and, seizing a moment of hesitation on their part, he shamed them into calm in a few minutes, and within four-and-twenty hours afterwards he had obtained the abolition of the punishment of death for political offences with general assent. I do not suppose in the history of the world that there ever was such an instance of the triumph of a courageous mind inspired by noble sentiments over the brute force of the masses.

I had a long conversation with M. Lamartine as to the prospects of the Government: of these he speaks with considerable confidence. He says:— "We have the anarchists completely beat. Every

day increases our force. I hear the best accounts from the provinces. I know their wish from one end of France to another. We shall not perceive their strength till we come to the elections." I pressed upon him the importance of taking care that the first electoral law was such as to restore confidence, as there seemed to be a general opinion that universal suffrage, without the safeguard of 1795, of the double election, would produce an assembly that would be unmanageable.

He admitted all the importance of endeavouring to procure, if possible, that safeguard. "Could we obtain that," he said, "we have then nothing more to do but to sleep in peace; but when I say the anarchists are beat, it is that I have not the slightest fear of the result. We may have articles in the papers, meetings of clubs, and perhaps partial *émeutes*, which we will suppress with a strong hand, if necessary; but we must keep, for the present, as much united as possible, all, of every opinion, who really desire the maintenance of order, and make that the great distinction of the moment. I will therefore contend for the double election, and carry it if I can; but I will not risk my influence upon that point, provided I find the recollections of the Restoration which it might excite would be dangerous. But do not, on that account, be disengaged; I pledge myself that, however elected, we shall have what you would call a 'conservative' assembly; such is the general horror of anarchy

which prevails throughout the country. In Paris, probably, we shall have * * * * *, but I feel convinced now I can beat them ; the large majority will be quite sound." M. Lamartine then told me that yesterday, as he passed down the Boulevards from the ceremony, he was followed by about 40,000 people, shouting, "Vive Lamartine ! premier Consul !" and that he had turned round to them and said, "I want nothing for myself; but what you want for me is to get me shot to-night :" and that they took this in good part, and desisted.

When I said to M. de Lamartine that I would not keep him any longer from his affairs, "Mon affaire c'est vous," he said, with emphasis ; "all now depends upon you. If England speedily puts in a shape which can be made public what you have expressed to me personally to-day, we are all saved here, and the foundation of the most lasting and sincere alliance is established between two great nations who ought always to be friends." In the view taken by M. de Lamartine, that a prompt demonstration of support on the part of her Majesty's Government would be most desirable, I completely concur ; and, difficult as has been his task, and extraordinary as has been his merit, I am sure he deserves every consideration that is consistent with that which has been the invariable practice of the British Government.

In concluding my recollections of this interview, I should say that M. de Lamartine told me he

had declined the nominal Presidency of the Government from a fear of exciting jealousy, and that M. Dupont de l'Eure had consented to remain. He also added, that last night a deputation of the principal Legitimists had come to give in their adhesion, and that they had ascertained that Brittany had acknowledged the Republic, which is a great point, as a civil war would much embarrass the Government here, by exciting again the population of Paris.

It was indeed a very critical moment when the National Guard made ready and presented at the mob which came to burn the Elysée-Bourbon. Providentially they were cowed, and retreated. Had the mob succeeded, we should certainly all have been in flames in this neighbourhood, for there was a hurricane of wind blowing in this direction. It has been a great comfort to me that Lady Normanby has shown so much courage and coolness through all these days, and has therefore left me, undisturbed by any necessity of calming her fears, to give my whole attention to passing events. I must also say that I have throughout received every assistance from all the young men of the embassy, who have been zealous, and at the same time calm, and have shown great discretion in keeping out of any troubles, when they have been about the town for the purposes of collecting information.

CHAP. IV.

DETERMINATION OF THE AUTHOR TO REMAIN.—PANIC AMONGST THE ENGLISH RESIDENTS AT PARIS.—COMMUNICATIONS WITH THE HOME GOVERNMENT.—IMPROBABILITY OF REACTION IN FAVOUR OF ROYALTY.—PARIS IN DANGER OF STARVATION.—OBSTRUCTIONS CAUSED BY THE BARRICADES.—SCARCITY OF MONEY.—COINING OF PRIVATE PLATE.—SCENE IN THE CHAMBER OF MADAME ADELAÏDE.—IMPORTANT DECREES OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.—DESIRE OF THE GOVERNMENT TO BE OFFICIALLY RECOGNISED BY ENGLAND.—COUNT MOLÉ AND THE KING.—MARSHAL BUGEAUD AND THE ARMY.—M. THIERS SUMMONED.—THE REPUBLIC AND FREE TRADE.—ESCAPE OF THE DUCHESSE DE MONTPENSIER.—LOUIS BLANC'S THEORIES.—INTERMENT OF THE SLAIN.—DUPLICATES OF THE "GODDESS OF REASON."—LAMARTINE'S MANIFESTO.—ORDONNANCE AS TO THE ELECTIONS.—METHOD OF TAKING THE VOTES.—EJECTION OF ENGLISH WORKMEN AT HAVRE.

Feb. 29.

DURING the eight-and-forty hours of intense anxiety which succeeded the abdication and flight of Louis-Philippe, I of course did not watch the varying chances of the moment without having formed some plan in certain contingencies. As comparative calm has now succeeded to the agitation of the past week, I think this a good opportunity to revert, in a few words, to the course which I had

intended to pursue last week in that extreme case, which would alone have induced me to quit my post.

So long as the Provisional Government was in the hands of educated and enlightened men, versed, of course, in the elementary principles of Government, I thought it best to remain perfectly passive, and to consider as a matter of course the protection of the representatives of foreign powers. At the time when it appeared but too probable that M. Lamartine and his party would be overthrown, I had decided what to do so soon as any other names appeared to a proclamation professing to come from the Government, which would then have been that of a Reign of Terror, founded on the model of 1793, under the red flag. It was my intention to have put myself in direct communication with the heads of that Government, be they whom they might, and to have required an answer to the questions, whether they considered it the duty of Government to protect foreign diplomatic agents now in France till the pleasure of those they represented could be known. Also whether they would protect, as far as possible, all foreigners who had thrown themselves upon the hospitality of their country. If I had received an affirmative answer to these questions, I should have professed perfect confidence in their word, and have left to them the manner of its execution. Should the answer have been

in the negative, which was hardly possible, I should then have judged, from the manner of that answer, whether it would be most prudent to ask for the means of departure, or take my own manner of removing myself. This step of a communication to the *de facto* Government I should have taken by myself, in the first place, because any consultation with my colleagues was then almost impossible, and under the circumstances I felt I was the representative of the diplomatic body most likely to be attended to, while all the others would have profited by my *démarche* if successful. Under only one other contingency did I meditate quitting the British embassy. In case the mob succeeded in setting fire to the Elysée-Bourbon, as there is no treating with the flames, and in the then state of the wind all these houses must inevitably have been destroyed, while in the confusion of a fire, any mob even in quiet times is often beyond control, I had then intended to take shelter with my family in the nearest *Mairie*, which is the head-quarters of the National Guard of the Arrondissement.

The ascendancy of Lamartine and the friends of order being apparently assured on Saturday afternoon, I had the pleasure of announcing to Mr. Hodgson, the late member for Barnstaple, and Mr. Hughes Hughes, who stated they came on the part of many of the English residents, that I had not the slightest intention of quitting Paris,

and that nothing but a positive order from my Government, which I did not at all anticipate, should induce me to do so. This assurance gave great satisfaction to these gentlemen, and I hope the excessive panic amongst the English residents, which the frightful events of the preceding days had naturally produced, has now very much subsided. The very atmosphere of successful revolution was indeed strange to the numerous English families, who had, without the slightest notion of the possibility of such events, quitted their peaceful country homes to pass the winter in Paris. But their impatience to breathe again a purer air had led to the most senseless attempts at escape, and, in spite of cautions they received from the embassy to remain where they were for the moment, many large families wandered about the plains of St. Denis, in a vain endeavour to regain the broken railroad. The conviction that my departure would so much add to this restless impatience to get away at all hazards has not been without its legitimate influence upon my own conduct; and in the absence of any further instructions, I have again conveyed to her Majesty's Government my wish that every private support should be given to the Provisional Government, dependent of course upon the confirmation by the nation, in the manner in which they propose to take its opinion, as to the form of government they have proclaimed. There does not appear to me to be the slightest

shadow of doubt as to the result of that appeal, and therefore I think it is desirable they should be treated in every respect (except, perhaps, in the particular form in which official communications should be opened with them) with the same confidence and unreserve as if their definitive establishment was already decided. This opinion, which is my own, is also confirmed by that of almost all the eminent public men in France, who have had their share in political affairs during the last seventeen years, and who have communicated confidentially on the subject with me. The Provisional Government continue to conduct themselves with great discretion; they have enormous difficulties of various descriptions to contend against, and the prompt support of England would be to them of the greatest weight, and also of the best effect upon our future influence in this country.

When I say that I do not see the slightest chance of any present reaction towards royalty, I do not wish to be understood as believing that if the country had been polled before the late catastrophe there would have been any general desire for so extreme a change in the machine of Government, but the unanimous opinion of those who have worked the hardest and sacrificed the most for the late dynasty is, that it is completely lost in the feeling and opinion of the people, and that any present attempt in its favour would only exasperate the angry spirits which are now calming

down, and through violence and bloodshed prepare the way for something much worse than now exists.

As, in hastily noting down what was passing around me during the most eventful period of last week, I mentioned with some censure the manner in which I heard the troops had been dismissed by the members of the Government of Thursday morning, I think it right to say I have since seen two of these ministers, who confirm my information that they found the troops and the people on the point of coming into collision ; and as the object of their having desired to form a government was to calm down the popular excitement through the effect of their nomination without any further effusion of blood, they had no alternative but to withdraw the troops. As to the scene which subsequently occurred when whole regiments surrendered their arms to the populace, they did not consider themselves as at all answerable for that result, military discipline having been for the time entirely destroyed, and the army demoralised, by the occurrences of the preceding eight-and-forty hours.

As I omitted to record at the proper moment an incident of transient interest, but which threatened serious consequences at the time, it is as well, whilst one can still speak feelingly on the subject, to mention that during these past days this luxurious capital was in imminent danger of starvation.

The daily supplies of a large capital, like London or Paris, are generally so beautifully and wonderfully balanced, that each day leaves but a small surplus beyond the regular consumption. The barricades had completely impeded the free circulation towards the outskirts; and the frightful reports of the state of anarchy in the town deterred all those who usually supplied the city with provisions from attempting to reach its centre. My own cook made a most doleful report of his prospects for the morrow, as he announced the larder to be completely empty. We were also told there was no flour in the town; and that the bakers had ceased to distribute bread. Lamartine's timely exertions, therefore, in causing the barricades to be removed, saved us from dangers quite as serious, though of a less ostensible description than massacre.

There is nothing that has surprised me more in the wonderful changes of the last few days than the utter destruction of all conventional value attached to articles of luxury or display. Pictures, statues, plate, jewels, shawls, furs, laces, all one is accustomed to consider property, become as useless lumber. Ladies anxious to realise a small sum, in order to seek safety in flight, have in vain endeavoured to raise a pittance upon the most costly jewels. What signified it that they were "rich and rare," when no one would or could buy them?

The scarcity of money at once became so great that a sovereign passed for three or four and thirty

francs. Many people sent their plate to be coined into five-franc pieces. All the most expensive *nouveautés* which had been accumulated for the display of the coming season were in vain offered at a fraction of their value. It seemed a mockery to suppose that under the red flag should be mustered anything but "a ragged regiment of shreds and patches." It was curious, and melancholy, to see how suddenly the most civilised capital in the world could be reduced to the primitive condition of barter, when, according to the instincts of savage life, the relative value of everything was estimated merely by its direct application to the purpose of protecting or prolonging existence.

March 1.

I MAY as well here recur to some circumstances which prepared the way for late events, having lately received from the best sources detailed information as to the negotiation which took place between the Government of Louis-Philippe and the committee for the Reform Banquet.

This negotiation was conducted on the part of the Government by M. Vitet, the reporter on the Address, and the Count de Morny; and on the part of the Reformers by M. Odilon Barrot and M. Duvergier d'Hauranne. It was agreed between them that there must be a procession to the Banquet; and that as the National Guards in great numbers desired to attend, they should be arranged in a manner to keep order—of course without arms. M. Duchâtel gave his consent to this arrangement, and after some opposition from M. Guizot and M. Hebert, it was agreed to by the Government on the Friday before. When, on the Monday morning, the public announcement of what had been settled before was made in an objectionable form, M. Guizot and M. Hebert revived

their opposition; prevailed over M. Duchâtel; and M. Vitet and M. de Morny went to the committee-room to announce that the Government would not permit the meeting. The dangerous consequence of so late a change of purpose was enforced by M. d'Hauranne and others, and so convinced M. Vitet and M. de M., that they agreed to draw up a paragraph, which was to appear in the evening papers, on the part of the committee, regretting the authoritative tone which had appeared in the announcement of the morning, and protesting against assuming any other right than to give counsel for the maintenance of order; and the two ministerial deputies promised to induce the Ministers, upon this qualification, to allow the meeting to proceed. Upon their return, however, they found that M. Guizot and M. Hebert had persuaded the King to take up the matter warmly,—and then followed the scene in the Chamber of Deputies I have already described. The opposition deputies determined, upon their return to the committee-room, at any sacrifice of their popularity, to avoid a collision in the streets; but one of them told me that when this decision was broken, that night, to some of the superior officers of the National Guards who were assembled to make the last arrangements for the morrow, they were all furious, and said that this decision would cost the King dear.

I went that night to the Tuileries without learning the decision of the opposition deputies; as

his Majesty had often volunteered to speak to me upon his own affairs, I thought it possible he might do so then, and I was prepared, if the occasion was thus offered, humbly to represent to his Majesty the danger, in the existing state of the public mind, unnecessarily of provoking a collision in the streets. But I was told on the stairs, by one of the generals whom I met, that the opposition had given up the banquet, and found the whole Court in an ecstasy of delight, as if they had gained a great victory. The King spoke to me for some time with great animation, but never once alluded to the passing events. He adverted to our proposed diplomatic intercourse with Rome, to the difficulty of receiving a priest at St. James's in full canonicals, told a story of the Archbishop of Narbonne, who, in the days of his emigration, had got over the difficulty by going to George the Third in court-dress with a sword.

I only allude to these trivial subjects of conversation because I found afterwards that the King had been studying effect to the last, and that he had said to those to whom he spoke immediately afterwards, "I am very well satisfied with Lord Normanby to-night," as if he had been speaking to me of the passing concerns of the moment, and I had approved the course of his Government.

The infatuation of the King during the whole of the debates on the Address was very remarkable.

Several of the representatives of the smaller German Courts went to him with letters of condolence on Madame Adelaïde's death; and to some he said, "Tell your masters not to mind having popular assemblies, let them only learn to manage them, as I manage mine. See the noise they are making now: I shall soon have them in hand again. They want me to get rid of Guizot; I will not do it; can I possibly give a stronger proof of my power?"

As I have mentioned Madame Adelaïde, it is right to say, in justice to her memory, that though she was for a time dazzled by the ideas of faintly aggrandisement, and took an unfortunate part in the affair of the Spanish marriages, she soon saw the mischief to which that led; and upon all other subjects she was disposed to give to her brother more liberal advice than he was always ready to receive.

A few days before her death she gave a detail to one of her intimate friends of the vain efforts she had made to persuade the King to dismiss his ministers, and promise reform. Marshal Sebastiani's opinion agreed with Madame's; and just before the opening of the Chambers, the King, coming into his sister's room, where the marshal was, the Princess insisted upon his repeating what he had been saying as to the impolicy of longer maintaining the Guizot Ministry. When the marshal had said what occurred to him, the King

almost brutally replied, " Vous le croyez ? Vous baissez, maréchal ; évidemment vous baissez."

The King had also received the same advice from Count Montalivet, which he reported to Guizot ; and but for the interposition of some of the royal family, was very nearly sacrificing the most personally attached of all his servants to the resentment of his Minister.

March 1.

The Government continue confident, and generally their measures are judicious. They might as well have postponed this question of titles, as well as that of taxes, till the general Assembly, as they hurt some of those classes whose love of order had made them rally round them ; but I suppose it was a necessary sop to their more eager supporters. The French are creatures of impulse ; and at present the general impulse is love of order. Even in the lower classes they like to be told that, having won their liberties, they show themselves worthy of them. How long this may last I cannot say. I am reassured to-day as to any present attempt at reaction, either towards a regency or Henri V. I trust both parties see the folly of making any demonstration at this moment ; but for all this no one likes this Republic, or was the least prepared for

it; yet every one is determined to support it from thorough disgust at all of which they have got rid, and from nothing else presenting itself that would be better borne.

March 1.

This morning's "Moniteur" contains three most important decrees of the Provisional Government.

The first, stating the principle of taxation which they intend to propose, but requiring that all existing duties shall be paid till the meeting of the Assembly; the second, abolishing all titles of nobility; and the third, giving in the adhesion of all the marshals of France now residing in the country, and most of the generals.*

* The praise which I was inclined to give to the tact shown in some of the first decrees of the Provisional Government, required some modification when I read the second proclamation alluded to above, couched in the following terms:—

"RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE.

"*Liberté! Égalité! Fraternité!*

"Le Gouvernement provisoire,

"Considérant,

"Que l'égalité est un des trois grands principes de la République française; qu'il doit, en conséquence, recevoir une application immédiate,

"Décrète,

"Tous les anciens titres de noblesse sont abolis; les qualifica-

March 2.

I received a visit from M. Lamartine, who evidently came pressed and urged by his colleagues, to see whether he could not obtain, through me, some outward demonstration of support from Her Majesty's Government.

I explained to him that, as far as I knew, there was every disposition on the part of Her Majesty's Government to give all the support in their power to the praiseworthy efforts of the Provisional Government for the maintenance of order. I then conveyed to Lamartine prospective assurances of the future application of the general principles of the British Government, as soon as there should be an established organ of the national will; but added, that it was quite contrary to all practice to

tions qui s'y rattachaient sont interdites; elles ne peuvent être prises publiquement ni figurer dans un acte public quelconque.

“Les membres du Gouvernement provisoire de la République française.

“Paris, le 29 Février, 1848.”

Whatever may be thought of the value of nobility, it was hardly within the attributes of a Government, merely provisional, to abolish titles which had been identified with the glories of France, some from the time of the Crusades, others derived from the recent triumphs of the Empire.

M. Lamartine, indeed, states in his book that this decree abolishing all titles was never submitted to the Provisional Government, nor approved by them, the first he knew of it was when he saw it in the “Moniteur.”

accredit an ambassador to a Government which professed to be only provisional. In the meantime, I assured him of my wish that we might, in unofficial communications, establish personally the foundation of that good understanding which, I trusted, would again be complete and cordial between the two countries. Lamartine expressed his great satisfaction at these sentiments. He regretted, at the same time, not for his own sake, but for the great cause of peace and order, of which circumstances had rendered him the present representative, that they could not at once be put in some official shape. He explained to me that the French people always required something of show; and that any act of the British Government that could have been made public at once, and have shown, without any possible cavil on the part of the ill-disposed, that the cordial co-operation of England was secured, provided peace was not first threatened from hence, would be of the utmost value, and that any such demonstration would have given him great additional strength. He added, " You may imagine that it is only our *conscience* and our determination not on that account to provoke so great a curse as war, which makes us oppose with all the force in our power that which in itself would much diminish our present difficulties, and would make us very popular; but you know me, and I will not be the person to do what I know to be wrong. In the present state of the world we cannot say we may not be forced into

a war; but we will not seek it." I convinced Lamartine (who was very reasonable on the subject) that there was not the least reason to suppose there was any other distinction between the two countries than the observance, on our part, of an established form; that there could be no objection to his conveying to his colleagues, or using in any way he pleased, the fact that I had personally informed him of the sentiments that had been expressed by the Prime Minister of England in the House of Commons. He was at liberty to use his own method of communicating to the people over whom he exercised such beneficial influence, that he had every reason to believe the definitive confirmation by the nation of what might be their future form of government would be met on our part by an increased desire to cultivate the most friendly relations.

Lamartine spoke with the utmost confidence of the increasing power of the Government, and of their ability to maintain internal tranquillity. He said it was possible there might be partial demonstrations of portions of the working classes, who did not know what they wanted; but he was convinced they would not be of the slightest general importance.

March 2.

I have seized every opportunity lately to collect information as to the progress of events towards

the final catastrophe which, for the time, precluded all possibility of developing the tangled details which have been since communicated to me as to the last changes of the Ministry. When the King sent for Count Molé from the Chamber of Peers, he (Count Molé) had not heard of the resignation of Guizot, and had no precise information of the purpose for which he was summoned. It appears that the King commenced by asking him if he had heard what had happened. Upon his reply in the negative, the King said, "The National Guard has declared itself. The Tuilleries would have been stormed before many hours were over; it was necessary, at any price, to avoid another 10th of August. I know it is not a pleasant thing to ask you to take office at such a time, but I rely upon your devotion. I suppose you have your Cabinet ready?" Count Molé saw this was a confirmation of the report that M. Guizot had insinuated that he had been intriguing to supplant him, and he replied to the King, that he had taken no steps of that nature, that he had remained a passive spectator in his own retired corner of what was passing around him; but that as long ago as last August, when speaking with M. Dufaure as to the ruinous system which they thought had been pursued by his Majesty's advisers, they understood each other sufficiently for him to feel almost sure he might rely upon his assistance and that of his friends,

but that the King must excuse his giving him any positive answer, till he had had an opportunity of consulting with these gentlemen and some of his other friends. The King said, "This is not a moment to make conditions, but there is one thing I must except from a general *carte blanche*, I must not have Marshal Bugeaud at the head of the army. The army must be reserved, as hitherto, for my sons, and Marshal Bugeaud would never allow that." Count Molé replied, that it was his undoubted intention to have proposed Marshal Bugeaud for that department, that he did not know what the marshal's wishes might be, but that he could not accept the commission with such a restriction. The King then said, "Let me see you again as soon as you have made up your mind."

It is worthy of remark, that it was the subserviency of the Guizot Ministry to this caprice of the King, with respect to Marshal Bugeaud, which deprived the garrison of Paris of his command during those important hours which had just elapsed.

Count Molé summoned his friends, M. de Rémusat, M. Dufaure, M. Billault, and others, and they agreed that at any hazard they would not abandon the country to the absence of all government at such a moment ; but they also all agreed that it would have been more effectual in restoring confidence, to have in the existing excite-

ment a person like M. Thiers, who had taken so active a part in all the late discussions, at the head of the Government. Count Molé, therefore, walked up to M. Thiers in the evening with the intention, first, of consulting him, and then of offering advice to the King to send for M. Thiers; but if the King would not take that advice, then to undertake himself the arduous task. The conversation between M. Thiers and M. Molé seems to have been of the most cordial description; they both were unwilling to take the Government, but determined, if absolutely necessary, not to refuse. M. Thiers admitted that, as far as internal affairs were concerned, he was more likely to have influence in calming the agitation, but objected that, in spite of himself, he should be more likely to get the country into a foreign war. Whilst these two statesmen were thus discussing the future, the unfortunate affair which was to put it out of their power to influence that future was occurring at the Foreign Office. When Count Molé returned, he found M. Montalivet come from the King for an answer; as he conveyed at the same time the intelligence that, if he did not accept the mission, the King would send for M. Thiers, Count Molé at once resigned his commission. M. Thiers was summoned in the dead of the night. When he told the King that if he undertook the task of forming a ministry, it was only with a view of getting his Majesty through

the present crisis, and then giving it up again, it appears that the King, not uncivilly, but very clearly, gave him to understand that the contingent limitation of the duration of his services did not at all detract from the satisfaction with which he, for the time, accepted them. The great misfortune was, that there was not a man in France who continued to put the slightest trust in the King. M. Duvergier d'Hauranne was one of the new Ministers who was employed to appease the people with the announcement of a new Ministry and popular reforms. He says, that in the part of the town where he was personally known, the people, at his bidding, demolished the barricades, but many added, " You will see, Sir, the old man will deceive you, as he has every one else that has had anything to do with him."

The King's obstinacy and blindness, even at this crisis, injured any chance that might still have remained. An hour and a half of precious moments was lost before he could be persuaded to consent to the immediate dissolution of the Chamber. During this time, he more than once retired into an adjoining apartment, as is said by the Ministers of the morning, to get strengthened in his resistance by the mistaken and unconscious author of all the mischief, who remained in the palace, though no longer a responsible adviser.

The King suggested to M. Duvergier d'Hauranne that the Chambers had better first pass his reform

of last session, to extend the franchise to the second jury list. To which he replied, "Can your Majesty possibly imagine that we remain in the same position? That which would then have been welcome will now be laughed to scorn." When, two hours later, affairs had become much more immediately threatening, the question of abdication was proposed. I do not think it necessary, and it certainly would be painful, to enter into any of the details of degradation which have been communicated to me since I first recorded that fact; and there are many reasons why I should be sorry to dilate upon anecdotes of this nature, which can now have no political importance.

March 3.

There is one question which I see we must be very careful how we obtrude prematurely on the attention of the Republic, and that is Free Trade. It will come in time, I suppose, as far as improved commercial relations will naturally arise from more international interests, provided the tendency of the change be to strengthen the alliance between the two countries; but at this moment, there is nothing so unpopular in France as the very mention of Free Trade. All the difficulty of the Government at present arises from the

pretensions of the working classes to protection of any kind, particularly against foreigners. I sounded Lamartine; I went so far, at least, as to say that before the late events he has been very favourably known to many classes in England by his speech at Marseilles upon Free Trade. I saw that he flinched at once from the subject, and we talked of more immediate matters. We shall spoil all, if at this moment we appear to want to sell our sympathies. No government whatever in France could, as yet, make a move in that direction.

March 3.

At length we have further authentic information of the escape of the Duchesse de Montpensier. Many of the details I have heard from M. Lamartine himself.* It appears that the Duchess, when provided with the means of securing, as was thought, a safe journey, started with General Thierry, the aide-de-camp of her husband, for Eu, with the expectation of there meeting the Duke; but, the projects of the rest of the royal family having been modified by circumstances, they found no one at the Château, and, under the additional escort of a young diplomatist on leave in the neighbourhood, M. Estancelin †, H. R. H. started

* Other incidents from one more warmly interested in the fate of the Duchess.

† The same who afterwards distinguished himself by the courageous part he played in the Constituent Assembly.

again for Abbeville. Upon her arrival there, the mob assumed a menacing aspect at the appearance of a post carriage, which they said contained the Princes on their way to England. M. Estancelin in vain assured them that the lady was his wife, and that he was returning to his diplomatic duties. The crowd insisted upon opening the door of the carriage, and M. Estancelin, in order to avoid that necessity, desired to be driven to the house of a Republican friend in that part of the town, and confided to him the name of his companion, and this man had the brutality or the timidity to refuse an asylum to one whose presence, he was afraid, might compromise him with his friends. It was already quite dark, yet there seemed no other resource than that the Princess, attended by the General, should proceed on foot through the town, and await upon the road leading to Montreuil the arrival of the carriage with post-horses, which M. Estancelin was to seek when the suspicions of the mob, who were still hovering about the post-house, should have been diverted. Any one who remembers Abbeville in the old posting days cannot forget the interminable length of winding streets which intervene between the post and the Northern Gate. It appears that the town was as unknown in detail to General Thierry as to his distinguished companion, and for hours they paced up and down, without guide or direction, a furious gale of wind raging round, and drifting rain, snow,

and sleet in their faces; for, as the storm was from the north-east, and the Boulogne Gate precisely in that direction, it was only by proceeding resolutely in the eye of the wind that they could hope to reach that exit from the town. The lower shutters of all the houses were so universally closed against the raging of the elements and the equally threatening outbreak of human passions, that it was impossible to demand their way. Once a brilliant light from some windows attracted their attention, but it was soon carefully avoided when found to proceed from a crowded cabaret where they were singing *La Marseillaise*.

Missing the main gate, and expecting to escape through a side postern, they were, instead, bogged in a sort of quagmire, the first steps in which deprived the delicate feet of the poor Duchess of both shoes; wandering about in search of them, she sank above her ankle at every moment, till providentially found by an unknown friend of M. Estancelin, who had been sent in search of them: by him she was conducted to a shed on the *Route Royale*, where they awaited the arrival of the carriage and proceeded on their journey.

Through all these fatigues, sufferings, and dangers, all agree in stating that the Duchess showed a light heart and a brave spirit.*

* I do not remember that, at the time M. Lamartine stated these facts, he concluded this report to me, as he does some months afterwards in his published work, with the anecdote

March 8.

Lamartine stated to me to-day that he wished to mention to me the substance of his Circular Mani-

that, when General Thierry remarked upon the hardship of these adventures to one like herself, that the Duchess rejoined, "Eh bien, j'aime mieux ces aventures que la monotonie de la table ronde de travail dans les salons chauds et somptueux des Tuileries;" and I only revert to it now to express my disbelief that the Duchess ever used these words at such a moment, when all the habitual occupants of that table were dispersed in peril. M. Lamartine probably only heard the account second or third hand, and if such words had been uttered in a momentary elasticity of spirits, natural and excusable at sixteen, it seems improbable that General Thierry would have repeated them where they might obtain publicity and excite unpleasant feelings among those now more than ever endeared by misfortune. It was very natural that some one might add the sentence, who was aware that the formality of those evenings of reception did weigh heavily upon one who, formerly perhaps little used to ply the needle, had no resource but conversation seldom addressed to herself, in a language which she understood imperfectly, and still spoke with embarrassment, one, too, accustomed to the companionship of her mother, who, when she pleased, excelled almost every one in that social charm which is the characteristic of all the princesses of that royal house.

Years have since rolled away, and the memory of that round table at the Tuileries is now passing from the minds of those younger occupants who may have found the confinement of its circle irksome, and, also, from the recollection of those strangers standing round, who were received by the illustrious lady who presided with that benign grace which was peculiarly her own. Those years continue to roll on, and the princes of the house of Orleans, who in youth had vied with each other in their zeal in the service of their country, are forced to pass

festo to the European Powers, which had been discussed in the Provisional Council yesterday, and which would be issued in two or three days. He said that I was aware of the feeling which had existed for the last thirty years in France upon the subject of the Treaties of 1815, the humiliation of which they had been considered as the constant record. He should have wished to have said nothing whatever about them, but this seemed impossible. He should be obliged to allude to the manner in which they had been violated at their pleasure by others, and therefore to deny that France would be any more bound, as of right, to observe them; but this would be accompanied by a declaration to accept them as a great fact — as the point of departure — rigidly to maintain the existing territorial arrangements, and to lay down the precept that they were only to be modified by negotiation, and with the consent of all parties.

I merely observed upon this that I could not, of course, pronounce any opinion upon the exigencies of his position. I should much have preferred if there had been no such allusion to the Treaties, principally for its effect in other quarters.

Lannartine assured me that it was accompanied by earnest and most sincere protestations of desire

their meridian in exile and inaction, bearing their weary lot with that unostentatious resignation which, whilst seeming to avoid notice, secures, as it merits, a tacit tribute of respect and sympathy from all.

to maintain peace. Upon this point he added, that he had no difficulty with his colleagues, as they were unanimous in their determination to avoid any chance of war.

I then went on to tell Lamartine that I observed some uneasiness was felt in England, not so much at the political character of the Revolution, which had been accepted frankly as rather a question for themselves, but at its social tendencies. He must be aware that, in a country like England, whose complicated interests were all bound together by the security derived from the protection of capital and its free employment, there were several of the former doctrines of one of his present colleagues, Louis Blanc, which some people much dreaded to see put in practice. Lamartine said that he regretted certainly the position of Louis Blanc in the administration, but the members of the Government were not chosen in a way which insured very careful selection, and that, being there named, he was now less injurious than he would be elsewhere. As to the real state of this question, he said that the portion of the working classes really Communists, that is, who were hostile to property, were not at all formidable from their numbers, though, from their union, they had been very near succeeding in a *coup de main*; many of them did not know what they wanted, or how to set about it. On the other hand, there was a large portion of the labourers really to be pitied, who

were suffering quietly — they deserved some management. He was happy to think the masters were disposed to meet them in a liberal spirit, and that arrangements as to the reduction of the hours of work from eleven to ten would be made by mutual agreement. As to any *Ordonnance* as to what was called *organisation de travail*, he had positively refused to put his name to any such nonsense, and it had been withdrawn. Lamartine seemed to consider that the Commission sitting at the Luxembourg was a useful safety-valve to allow all the effervescence on this subject to escape; and that when they came to discuss such projects, their intrinsic absurdity would be their best corrective.

In the first days of the Revolution, when Louis Blanc was only made Secretary to the Provisional Government, he had too much good sense not to see the absurdity of his own theories when pushed to excess, and had, as yet, no object in pressing them forward as an engine to undermine with the working classes the popularity of those who are now his colleagues. When first a turbulent deputation, asking for *droit de travail* and *ouvrage assuré*, arrived at the Hôtel-de-Ville, Louis Blanc himself undertook to set them right. "Eh bien," he said, with perfect calmness, "vous êtes ouvrier?" "Oui, Monsieur," the first citizen replied, "je le suis, nous le sommes tous." "Venez donc, vous en savez plus que nous, mettez vous à côté de nous et

écrivez comment ça se fera." The man was disconcerted, scratched his head; "Mais Dame ! c'est que je ne sais pas écrire." "N'importe, je ferai le secretaire, dictez, comment voulez-vous que cela se fasse ?"

"1^{me}. Ouvrage assuré pour tout le monde."
"Bien, c'est écrit."

"2^{me}. Que l'ouvrage soit payé." "Bien!"

"3^{me}. (A long pause.) Mais comment assurer ça?" "Mais — mais, c'est que je n'en sais rien!" Upon which all his friends and companions began to laugh. And Louis Blanc availed himself of this happy moment to add: "You see, my friends, it requires some deliberation to arrange all these things. Do you preserve peace and order, which are the best security for work, and leave the rest to us, who have your interests at heart." Upon which they all dispersed in good humour.

Lamartine in conversation yesterday expressed some anxiety as to the fate of the King. This induced me to speak of the future condition of the Royal Family, particularly as to their property. M. Lamartine at once said that he was very glad to take that opportunity of assuring me that, though in the first moment of excitement there had been mention of confiscation, there did not really exist any such intention as to the private property of the members of the Royal Family. That all had been sequestered for the present, with a view of making a careful distinction as to what might be said to

belong to the State ; but that they were determined to respect religiously the right of private property, and they would not make the Princes an exception to that inviolable rule.

March 4.

The ceremony of interring the persons who lost their lives in the late Revolution took place this morning. The most perfect order prevailed ; and immense crowds thronged the whole space, between the Madeleine and the Column of July, through which the procession passed ; and, as is always the case at any sight in Paris, " all the streets were paved with heads, and all the walls were lined with faces," —in short, by the majority of the people it was contemplated as any other show might be, and women in their holiday clothes stood at the windows to see and be seen : but as there is almost always here a ludicrous incident in every demonstration, however serious, two of the softer sex, of doubtful character, dressed themselves in white, with *tricot couleur de chair* and green leaves, mounted on white horses, and sought to join the procession, probably with some vague traditions of the first Revolution, which their education had not made very clear, but wishing to be received as duplicate copies of the Goddess of Reason. But the Repub-

lican Master of the Ceremonies* hesitating where to place these strange mourners, a by-stander told them that "La République exige surtout que les femmes soient jolies, et comme vous êtes toutes les deux diablement laides, allez-vous en."

There does not appear to have been any enthusiasm; nor do the accounts received from any of the consuls, whom I had desired to communicate with me, mention the existence of any strong degree of that feeling in any part of the country. At the same time, all parties continue to rally cordially round the Provisional Government, and there is not the slightest return, at present, in any quarter, towards any member of the House of Orleans. I only hope that the Legitimists, who have been behaving very well up to this time, may not be deceived by the alienation which is universally felt with regard to that which has been removed, and the indifference which appears as to what is likely to succeed. If, unhappily, they should consider that thus the field is left open to them, and commence their intrigues, I am convinced any discovery of this kind would give the ascendancy to the violent party amongst the Republicans at present in power, and would lead to confusion. I am far, however, from thinking that, had the Duc de Bordeaux been educated in England and in consti-

* This office is marked in the programme "Le Maître des Cérémonies des Pompes funèbres."

tutional principles, he might not possibly have had a chance with the National Assembly. As it is, it seems to me that his claim for the present is entirely out of the question.

March 6.

Here we have Lamartine's Manifesto. The first observation that occurs to every one is, that it partakes more of the character of a report of a speech than of the calmness of a state paper; and the next that suggests itself is, that it had better not have been a manifesto at all. Had it simply been a circular to the different Courts, there are defects in its tone which would have met with more tolerance than, I am afraid, they are now likely to receive, when, from the premature publicity given, they assume still more the form of a menace. Both for the style and the form of this production, I take it Lamartine's extremely difficult position is more answerable than his character. So many absurd expectations have already been inevitably checked, that it may be necessary the public impatience should be fed by high-sounding phrases. Yet, whilst I am still in great admiration of his many rare qualifications for the position he holds, I own I should have had a more perfect confidence in his successfully combating the complicated difficulties

by which he is surrounded if, in the affair of the Manifesto, he had shown a more correct judgment. No doubt there are many noble sentiments and much brilliancy of expression, but the previous short circular seemed to me perfect in its tone and all that could have been required of a Provisional Government.

The "Moniteur" of this morning contains a further Ordinance as to the elections, fixing the mode of taking the votes. In a few days I shall be better able to form a correct opinion as to what will be the effect of this manner of voting by lists for the whole Department. The first impression seems to be that it is the best, provided the elections are free, as more likely to procure the nomination of men of some local personal and political reputation; but should they take place under the influence of terror, then, of course, the lists arranged beforehand by the violent party will be forced upon the electors. Upon this point all information from the provinces concurs, that the real opinion of the country is not with the extreme democracy.

"Paris, le 4 Mars.

"Dans sa séance d'hier soir, 4 Mars, le Gouvernement Provisoire de la République a fixé la convocation des assemblées électorales au 9 Avril prochain, et la réunion de l'Assemblée Nationale Constituante au 20 Avril. Il a dans la même

séance adopté pour principes généraux du décret qui va être rendu : —

“ 1^o. Que l’Assemblée Nationale décréterait la constitution.

“ 2^o. Que l’élection aurait pour base la population.

“ 3^o. Que les représentants du peuple seraient au nombre de neuf cents.

“ 4^o. Que le suffrage serait direct et universel sans aucune condition de cens.

“ 5^o. Que tous les Français âgés de vingt-et-un ans seraient électeurs, et que tous les Français âgés de vingt-cinq ans seraient éligibles.

“ 6^o. Que le scrutin serait secret.

“ RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE, 6 MARS.

“ LIBERTÉ, ÉGALITÉ, FRATERNITÉ.

“ Le Gouvernement Provisoire de la République, voulant remettre le plutôt possible aux mains d’un Gouvernement définitif les pouvoirs qu’il exerce dans l’intérêt et par le commandement du peuple,

“ Décrète

“ Art. 1^{re}. Les assemblées électorales de canton sont convoquées au 9 Avril prochain pour élire les représentants du peuple à l’Assemblée Nationale qui doit décréter la constitution.

“ Art. 2^{me}. L’élection aura pour base la population.

“ Art. 3 Le nombre total des représentants

du peuple sera de neufs cents, y compris l'Algérie et les Colonies françaises.

“Art. 4^{me}. Ils seront répartis entre les départements dans la proportion indiquée au tableau ci-joint.

“Art. 5^{me}. Le suffrage sera direct et universel.

“Art. 6^{me}. Sont électeurs tous les Français âgés de vingt-et-un ans, résidant dans la commune depuis six mois et non judiciairement privés ou suspendus de l'exercice des droits civiques.

“Art. 8^{me}. Le scrutin sera secret.

“Art. 9^{me}. Tous les électeurs voteront au chef-lieu de leur canton par scrutin de liste; chaque bulletin contiendra autant de noms qu'il y aura de représentants à élire dans le département.

“Le dépouillement des suffrages se fera au chef-lieu de canton et le recensement au département.

“Nul ne pourra être nommé représentant du peuple s'il ne réunit pas deux mille suffrages.

“Art. 10^{me}. Chaque représentant du peuple recevra une indemnité de 25 francs par jour, pendant la durée de la session.

“Art. 11^{me}. Une instruction du Gouvernement Provisoire réglera les détails d'exécution du présent décret.

“Art. 12^{me}. L'Assemblée Nationale Constituante s'ouvrira le 20 Avril.

“Art. 13^{me}. Le présent décret sera immédiatement envoyé dans les départements, et publié et affiché dans toutes les communes de la République.

"Fait à Paris en conseil de Gouvernement, le 5 Mars 1848. Les membres du Gouvernement Provisoire: Armand Marrast, Garnier-Pagès, Arago, Albert, Marie, Crémieux, Dupont (de l'Eure), Louis Blanc, Ledru-Rollin, Flocon, Lamartine. Le secrétaire-général du Gouvernement Provisoire : Pagnerre."

A few more words, founded upon a further comparison of information derived from different sources, as to the withdrawal of the troops from the contest of the 24th of February. The collision alluded to, as then imminent, was not one that would have been voluntarily sought on the part of the troops. But the army and the multitude were there in presence of each other; admirable military arrangements had been made by Marshal Bugeaud. The position was such as afforded every facility for the use of cannon; and whatever scattered disaffection might then have existed amongst the troops, there is no doubt that, in the first instance, a signal example would have been made of the mob. The situation of the Government, therefore, obliged them either to give the orders which would have brought about the collision, or to determine to take upon themselves to put an end to the contest.

At the same time there was much truth in the belief that amongst the troops a bad disposition

prevailed towards the service in which they were engaged. During the last eight and forty hours various corps had been stationed, under arms, in different quarters of Paris, without any orders whatever how to act. These soldiers had been incessantly exposed to the taunts and cajoleries of the mobs; the officers had, in many instances, so far forgotten their discipline as to complain to bystanders of the cruel position in which they were placed. As early as Tuesday afternoon, when the organised mobs were not numerous, an English gentleman saw an attempt to burn a small *corps de garde*. The troops were ordered to present arms when the mob cried out "*Vive la Ligne*, don't murder your brothers." This gentleman saw the men irregularly shoulder their arms, as from impulse, and not by order. Though this may have formed one of the elements in the determination to which the Government came, yet it still appears to me that a great mistake was made by those in authority on the Thursday morning. Supposing them to have been right at that moment in putting an end to the conflict, the withdrawal of the troops ought to have been merely a military order to be executed discreetly, not an announcement to the people. To them it was sufficient to have said that the cause of conflict was over; the obnoxious Ministers succeeded by those who had always advocated their liberties. That this prudent course was not pursued was attributed by some to the

indiscretion of those of the Ministers who were on the spot; M. Thiers remained with the King. As to the Ministers of the morning, it may perhaps be easy for us to find many faults in the conduct of men who were only called in, as new medical advisers are sometimes summoned, when all others despair of the patient, and who, in this instance, found the only chance destroyed, more by the previous treatment than the disease itself. But I have little doubt that if this army of the Boulevards had, instead of being sent towards their barracks in apparent disgrace, been made a reinforcement to the garrison of the Tuileries, where there were, at least, 4000 men who had never been in contact with the people; and if these fresh troops had been ordered to the front to guard all the approaches to the Tuileries, and the others had given them, from the rear, the moral support of their numbers, that in this case—though the ultimate results might not have been different, yet, the personal safety of the King being thus secured—we should never have had the piteous spectacle of the abandonment of all the first duties of Government and the degradation of all regular authority beneath the passionate impulse of the populace. It is not right to throw special blame on any individuals, when such was the combination of adverse circumstances that no one could state precisely the moment when the reputation of the parties would have been saved by any heroic act of

self-sacrifice; but though similar scenes to those which afflicted the capital on Thursday last may have occurred sometimes in the confusion of night, I do not think, in the history of the world, that, considered in all its pitiable details, the light of day ever shone upon so undignified a flight.

March 6.

I received a letter* this morning from Mr. Featherstonehaugh, Her Majesty's Consul at Havre, as to the brutal ejection of some English workmen.

Though Mr. Featherstonehaugh expressed his intention of endeavouring to correct the evil before requesting me to make a representation to the Provisional Government, yet I considered the facts stated so very serious and pressing that I at once went to M. Lamartine, and drew his attention, not only to the brutality and inhumanity of those proceedings towards the individuals, but to the imminent danger to international relations which the knowledge in England of such proceedings must threaten, and the alienation which it could not but excite towards the existing Government of France. M. Lamartine expressed the deepest concern at what had occurred, which he said could not be too

* Letter lost.

warmly characterised; but added that he hoped the English people would recollect that it was only a local quarrel amongst workmen, and did not partake at all of a national character; that it was impossible for the Government, considering the collision which had so recently taken place between the people and the troops, to attempt, at least for some time, to maintain order through the means of the latter. He asked me to leave with him the Consul's letter to the Commissary at Rouen, which was in French, and stated the circumstances of the case, and which he would immediately bring before the Provisional Government at the Hôtel-de-Ville. In the meantime he assured me he would at once promise me, in the name of the Government, the most liberal compensation to all those poor people for any losses they might have suffered from the manner of their expulsion; and he would send additional authorities down to Rouen to prevent the repetition of similar scenes.

CHAP. V.

INTELLIGENCE OF THE KING'S SAFETY.—DETAILS OF HIS ESCAPE.—HIS WANT OF PERSONAL DIGNITY.—HIS PERSONAL KINDNESS.—THE SPANISH MARRIAGES.—STATE OF THE NATIONAL FINANCES.—THE COMMERCIAL CRISIS.—OVER-SPECULATION ENCOURAGED BY THE CORRUPTIONS OF THE LATE GOVERNMENT.—M. LAMARTINE'S CONFIDENCE IN THE STRENGTH OF HIS GOVERNMENT.—CONJECTURES AS TO THE RESULT OF THE ELECTIONS.—CIRCULAR FROM THE MINISTER OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.—APPLICATION BY COUNT MONTALIVET FOR AN ADVANCE OF FUNDS FOR THE ROYAL FAMILY.—THE PEARLS OF THE PRINCESSES.—CIRCULAR ADDRESSED TO THE DIPLOMATIC AGENTS.—DEPUTATION OF TRADESMEN TO THE HÔTEL-DE-VILLE.—CAUSES ASSIGNED FOR THE KING'S AbdICATION.—UNPOPULARITY OF QUIZOT.—RELATION OF THE NATIONAL GUARD TO THE MONARCHY OF JULY.—FALL OF THE GUIZOT MINISTRY.—GENERAL ILLUMINATION.—UNPROVOKED ATTACK OF THE TROOPS ON THE PEOPLE.—THE SECTIONS.—THE MOB AT THE TUILLERIES.—BURNING OF THE THRONE AT THE COLUMN OF JULY.—DETAILS OF THE INSURRECTION.—COMMERCIAL FAILURES.—EXPEDIENTS OF GOVERNMENT.

March 7.

At length we have the satisfactory assurance that the King is in safety, having landed at Newhaven and proceeded by Brighton to London. It appears that he had been for some days concealed at Trouville, and had there freighted a vessel in the

assumed character of an old American gentleman who was anxious to quit the troubled scenes which distracted France, and had promised the owner, a man of the name of Hally, 3000 francs for the passage; but, the weather being of the most tempestuous character, he was told by a pilot, who was consulted by his attendants, that this vessel could not get out from the mooring where she then was; he therefore determined either to avail himself of the offer of a smaller one, which lay further out, or, changing his plan completely, to go from Trouville to Rouen, and take the boat which descends the Seine just in time to meet the departure of the English steamer for Southampton. But there was then danger that M. Hally, if he suspected the identity of the supposed American, would betray him, in disgust at losing so valuable a freight. In fact, this was the reason which at length decided the King to prefer, of the two courses between which he was hesitating, the plan of ascending to Rouen, instead of starting at once in the small vessel offered to him better situated for making the open sea. But Hally, when offered a portion merely of the price promised upon the condition of giving up his vessel, did betray him, and agitated a portion of the population with a declaration that he could show them the King attempting to escape. This project of making the descent from Rouen was, in the end, successful. The King and Queen arrived at Rouen, embarked

on board the river boat, they then re-descended in it to Havre, but had to make a short step from one quay to the other to get on board the English steamer. And here it was that the King was very near betraying himself by overacting the part of an English bourgeois anxious to return home. It was evidently of the utmost importance that, in a place where he was so likely to be personally known, he should keep himself quiet, and endeavour to escape observation. Instead of which, I hear he was bustling about, exclaiming loudly : "Where is Mrs. Smith ? Where is my old woman ? Come here, my dear." He was, in point of fact, recognised by a fishwife on the quay, who screamed out, "'Tis the King, who is making his escape." But it was too late to stop him ; he was already under the protection of the English flag, — the ladder was at once loosened from the quay, and the vessel, with all her steam well up, pursued her course at full speed.

It is to be remarked that the Provisional Government (as I have good reason to know) were very desirous he should make his escape. His Majesty's only danger, therefore, was from popular frenzy, which there might not be power on the spot to resist.

On his arrival in England, where he was received with every demonstration of sympathy and respect, he rather astonished those who came out to meet him, by the levity of his deportment. All who

have ever been brought into social contact with his Majesty are aware of a remarkable deficiency in his nature; he never had the slightest sentiment of personal dignity, and upon this occasion the most extraordinary circumstance in the history of this extraordinary man is that, in quitting the throne, he seemed to have lost all feeling of identity or of moral connexion with the individual who had ceased to occupy it. He seemed to consider the whole merely as a drama, in which he had ceased to play his accustomed part, and to believe that he could separate himself completely from the character he had formerly assumed, and discuss it with all the freedom of a by-stander.

Many instances of this kind have been reported to me even before his embarkation, and when safety would have required silence.*

* As this may be the last time I shall have occasion to mention Louis-Philippe, I cannot help expressing at the same time a grateful sense of the personal kindness with which he always received me. My position was a very peculiar one. Almost simultaneously with my arrival in Paris as ambassador, a complete change in the nature of the relations which had long existed between the two countries took place. Upon my reception (as I have mentioned elsewhere) he assured me that he should always consider me as an *Ambassadeur de Famille*. The announcement some days afterwards of the Spanish marriages, whilst it affected reciprocal feelings, both personal and national, placed me in even more constant communication with his Majesty, who ever showed a restless desire to explain his conduct. It was not in the nature of things that what I had to say should be always agreeable to the King, yet I have no recollection, on any occasion, of his not

March 7.

In consequence of the panic which was excited yesterday throughout all the bourgeoisie of Paris, by the failure of the house of Gouin and Co., and

having listened to me with courteous and condescending attention. I am convinced that were the voluminous reports of conversations which I had with his Majesty given to the world, the effect would be to leave upon many points a more favourable opinion of his character; but no one has a right to constitute himself so far a judge of such a result as to publish prematurely that which the station of the speaker marks as peculiarly confidential. I have avoided reverting to any details connected with the Spanish marriages, and will only now say, that some years' reflection, as well as further information, derived about the period to which these papers refer, from the private correspondence of many of the parties (seized and published during the first months of the revolution), have left me with the impression that there had been no settled plan of the King brought to destined maturity, but that the Minister forestalled the half-formed intentions of his Sovereign, and the ambassador finding an opportunity which might never recur of securing what he had been taught to consider a great national object, exceeded the instructions of the Minister, and committed his Government. This supposition is confirmed by the subsequent treatment of poor M. Bresson. I had friendly personal relations with that gentleman, and I remember the last night before he finally quitted Paris we were both at the Théâtre Historique, and, upon his coming into my box to take leave, I endeavoured to cheer his obvious despondency by saying, that, if one had to leave Paris, one could not have a more acceptable residence than Naples. He replied with evident disappointment, "Pour moi, il me parait que je ne fais que des gâchis partout où je vais." Three months after that he perished by his own hand in a fit of delirium.

the effect this was expected to have upon all commercial transactions, I went to M. Lamartine this morning to hear if he had anything he would wish to tell me as to the state of the national finances, which might be calculated to diminish the alarm which the events of yesterday were likely to produce in England. M. Lamartine assured me that, as to the national finances taken in their annual account, they would be excellent; that from the various extraordinary uses to which the exigencies of the moment had obliged them to apply that which was at present in the Treasury, there might be pressure in the course of the next six weeks, but they would not be obliged to have recourse to any revolutionary expedients; if they should want to have a loan, there would be no difficulty,—indeed, it had been almost pressed upon them. M. Lamartine had told me confidentially the other day that there was an intention of raising an income-tax, with the exemption of all persons below a certain minimum, upon the same principles as that at present existing in England; and having consulted me upon its practicability, I had pointed out to M. Lamartine the extreme difficulty at a moment's notice, and without any previous machinery established, of raising such a tax without enforcing the most crying injustice, or submitting to the most barefaced evasion. M. Lamartine told me this morning, that though he still thought himself it would be the best step to take, these objec-

tions had made much impression on the Council, and he believed it would not be adopted. He, whilst taking this favourable view of the available national resources, admitted that the commercial crisis was awful. This, he said, was not produced by the Revolution, as the critical moment had only been formerly postponed by expedients. It had arisen from over-speculation of every kind, which had been encouraged by the corruptions of the late Government; and that, whilst that lasted, those who had long been insolvent had always hoped for a turn in their favour. I asked him whether he apprehended this would go to the extent of bearing very severely upon the working classes, and thereby threatening the public tranquillity. M. Lamartine feared, for the moment, there must be much suffering, but he did not in consequence anticipate any serious disturbances, and spoke with great confidence of the strength the Government were gaining every day, and of their increased power to maintain the public peace. I have noted down, whilst fresh in my memory, the frank and full expression of what are, I have no doubt, M. Lamartine's sincere sentiments. It is right, however, to add that there are others who have more gloomy forebodings; and I cannot myself be entirely free from anxiety for the future, when I recollect how large a portion of the population are still in possession of arms, and are likely to be in want of food.

March 8.

From the moment when the temporary triumph of anarchy was avoided by the energy and courage of one man, and by the influence of generous sentiments, powerfully enforced, to which an excited population immediately yielded, the attention of all has been directed to the period of the meeting of the National Assembly as the point from which, should it be reached in safety, the hopes and fears as to the future destinies of the country must assume a permanent and substantial form.

I regret to state that in the decree, at length issued, there is nothing beyond the fact that a time is fixed, which is in the least calculated to encourage those who are inclined to hail with cheerfulness the slightest break in the political horizon. It is impossible for any one to speculate, at present with any confidence upon the result of these elections. If, as is asserted by some, the dominant feeling of the nation is for the maintenance of order, peace, and the material interests of the country, it may be beyond the power of any system of election, however vicious, to prevent the expression of that feeling. That the right to the suffrage would be held to be universal, and the vote direct, we had been for some days led to expect; but, till the edict actually appeared, I was

always in expectation that this might be regulated and restrained by salutary checks.

I had at first hoped that, though the right was universally admitted, its exercise would be limited to those who could read a declaration, and sign their names to it; but I am told that, in the present state of education in France, the exclusion would be the general rule, and the admission the exception; and that any such limitation *would irritate* the more, as it would be founded upon the incapacity of the individual. But to the last I knew that the wish of the moderate party in the Government was, that there should have been a separate election for every ten thousand inhabitants, and that each person should have only one vote. It is unnecessary to point out the many inconveniences which would have attended this mode of voting by universal suffrage, but, at any rate, it would have prevented the possibility of organised intimidation; and though the choice in some of the small departments would probably have produced singular specimens as legislators, yet it would have been the honest, though ignorant, choice of the country taken individually. Instead of this simple plan, it appears that, though the votes are to be taken in each canton, each voter is to vote by a list for all the deputies to be elected for a department; therefore, whilst an elector for the departments of Les Alpes, of Lozère, of Marne, and some others have only a voice in the representation in the pro-

portion varying from one to a three hundredth part, those of Seine (Paris) and the Nord have about one twenty-fifth part each. It is true, perhaps, that in our own representation there are more striking anomalies in theory, some which were *created* by the Reform Bill, as that each voter living in a county larger than some few, but smaller than the greater number, shall have a voice in the election of three members instead of two; but this criticism applies to a point of little real importance, whilst here the practical evil will be found to be of a very different magnitude. It is estimated by a rough guess that, with the universal suffrage as at present proposed, there will be about eight millions of electors; of these, it is said that six millions and a half can neither read nor write; and one of these persons residing in any of the large departments will be called upon to place, according to an arbitrary territorial division with which he has no direct interest, ten, twenty, or thirty names upon a list; in most cases he probably has not so many acquaintances out of his own village whom he knows by name. It is obvious that in such a system there can be no real independence of choice, and that the mechanical operation of filling that list must be done under the influence of some one. As the voting is by secret ballot, the illiterate voter has not even the protection of hearing the list read, and knowing that he is really voting for those he intends to name.

To increase the unavoidable confusion this creates, there came out this morning a most extraordinary circular from the Minister of Public Instruction to the Recteurs des Académies, &c. . . . in which he enjoins the latter to make known in their neighbourhood that it is not a necessary qualification for a representation in the National Assembly that a man should have either fortune or education, and even excites those most deficient in both respects to put themselves forward by the temptation which all can understand, that, with the salary given during attendance, it would be a good pecuniary speculation. I do not know what may be the intention of this document, whether by putting these ignorant peasants and handicraftsmen under the tuition of the schoolmaster, he may wish to save them from worse advice; but it appears to me to be very injudiciously worded.

I shall from time to time further note down anything that may occur to me as to the probable working in practice of that which, as a system, seems to unite all the defects of the wildest electional theories.

March 8.

I have only just seen Lamartine. I attacked him about the Circular of his Minister of Public In-

struction. He quite agreed with me about it, but said that he had never seen it till after it was published. He added that the decree abolishing titles had also been snuggled into the papers. This shows a want of system, excusable from the quantity of business they have had to transact, but which may lead, as in this case of the elections, to much mischief. The principal fault I find with Lamartine in his mode of transacting business is, the mania he has for his little *paragraphs* in the papers alluding to the subject of our interviews. This is not very diplomatic; but he says they do him a great deal of good at this moment, and as yet there has not been much harm in the substance of them. The funds have gone down to-day to 45! but for no particular reason, except the universal desire to realise.

March 9.

Count Montalivet, the Director of the late King's Civil List, called upon me yesterday to request my amicable interference with the Provisional Government to procure some advance of funds for the Royal Family. There is no one who has shown more courage and devotion than Count Montalivet in all the late transactions. Personally attached to the King, but politically opposed to many of the

acts of his late Ministers, his position was rendered a very difficult one by the jealous suspicion of some of the late Cabinet. Though in very bad health, he was unremitting in his exertions through all the three days, as Commandant of the Cavalry of the National Guard, and accompanied the King as escort till he was out of danger from Paris. He is now volunteering to interest himself in procuring some immediate resources for the Royal Family, though by so doing he has to remain in Paris, and expose himself to much odium, when he might have returned in safety to his country place.

Count Montalivet was very anxious I should again mention these matters to Lamartine, which I promised to do, particularly with reference to the pearls of some of the Princesses, still held in sequestration. When I alluded to the subject to Lamartine, he expressed great regret that the pearls should not have been previously removed, of which he had not been aware, but said that the whole of this was a question of time. He repeated that there was not, in any quarter, the slightest intention to confiscate any private property; that as to the pearls, they were as safe as if they were already at Claremont; but that this was, of all others, the worst moment to take any steps with reference to this property. During the first moments, he had procured from the Provisional Government a written promise, should the King be found, to place a million of francs at the

disposition of himself and the Royal Family, for their present maintenance anywhere out of France; and could they then have been discovered, this would, at that time, have been cheerfully done; but that within the last few days there had been such general distress amongst all classes, with such anxiety as to failures involving the livelihood of thousands, and some fears that public credit might be completely stricken by stoppages in the public payments, that no one could dare, at this moment, to send anything, already placed under official charge, out of the country for the benefit of the Royal Family, and that the notice of such a fact in the papers would be sufficient to upset the Government, whilst it was impossible to do it without publicity. However anxious to provide immediate resources for the Royal Family, I was so well aware that of all the difficulties which beset the Government the financial ones are at this moment the most dangerous, that I did not feel myself justified in pressing my request.

March 9.

In my last interview with M. Lamartine, I again reverted to the Circular which he had addressed to the diplomatic agents at the different courts, and I told him I was sure he would feel that there had

been every disposition to make allowance for the difficulty of his position. But when he first mentioned to me that he should be obliged to state that France considered the treaties of 1815 as no longer existing as matter of right, I had at once expressed my personal regret that he should feel himself forced to take such a step, and my fear that it might produce bad effects in some quarters. He had then accompanied this announcement with positive assurances, not only on his own part, but on that of his colleagues (who might differ from him as to the force of the declaration), of a determination not to commit any aggressive act against the territorial settlement of those treaties. This M. Lamartine at once interrupted me to confirm in the name of his colleagues and himself. He assured me that it was impossible, situated as the Provisional Government were, not to use some expression as to the treaties consistent with what has long been the unanimous sentiment of France. I reminded him that there seemed to be every disposition in England to trust that the practical respect for the existing settlement of Europe, announced in the manifesto, would be maintained as their rule of conduct by the French Government; but that, as I had stated to him in conversation before, there was no principle so generally established as this, that a nation does not free itself from its treaty engagements by changing the form of its internal government. M. Lamartine admitted the

perfect soundness of this as a general principle, but added something about these treaties having been so often violated by other parties who had more interest in maintaining them; and as I had said enough to indicate the sentiments I desired to press upon them, I did not think it necessary to pursue this subject further.

There was a strong report this morning that the meeting of the Assembly, with the preceding elections, were to be postponed till a later period. I wrote a private note to Lamartine in consequence, saying that of course I had no pretensions to give any opinion upon any purely internal question, but as the postponement of any settled government must retard the re-establishment of any definite relations with us, or any other power in Europe, and would make our position here very awkward, I hoped, if there was any intention of making a change, that he would let me see him before it was decided. I knew his opinion was the same as mine, but thought this might be useful to him as an additional ground for resisting the intrigues of some of his colleagues, who wished to postpone the time because they were afraid they would not have the opportunity to work the provinces. On his return from the Hôtel-de-Ville, I got a note from him to say that nothing was changed in the previous arrangement already announced. With great appearance of universal support from this Government, and much disinterested assistance which they will

receive from very many honest men like Molé, who do not approve of the form of government they propose to establish, there is also no end of intrigues of every kind. The army is very much dissatisfied, and will be more so when they find they are the only people who are not to have any voice in the National Assembly*, in which livery-servants may even be members.

They say that amongst Louis-Philippe's private papers they have found several letters from the Prince de Joinville, speaking very boldly against the system pursued, and full of liberal and patriotic sentiments. This has made a portion of the hangers on of the Government, and it is said even some of its members, turn towards him, but whether as President or Sovereign my informant does not say.

A large deputation of tradesmen, &c., amounting to about four thousand, has been with the Provisional Government at the Hôtel-de-Ville to-day, to complain of their utter ruin. I have not heard the answer. The best news for the cause of order is that the Clubs have done one great good, they have shown up the Communists, who, when they once descended into the field of argument, got terribly mauled and at last much laughed at.

* This first intention in respect to the army was for obvious reasons abandoned.

March 10.

Since we received here the satisfactory intelligence of the safe arrival in England, not only of the Royal Family, but of the last of the Ministerial refugees about whose fate there had remained a doubt, we have heard that some impression has been made there by the different accounts—each most favourable to the actual relator—of the causes which combined to produce the catastrophe: the dismissal of the Guizot Ministry is by some blamed as inopportune, whilst by others it is held, as here, to be open to but one censure,—that of having been too long delayed.

It is currently reported many attempts are made on the part of that Minister to show that his dismissal was the real cause of the downfall of the monarchy. There is no doubt the forced change of advisers, in the midst of popular tumult, was a great blow to the royal authority; but it is necessary to consider what was, up to that time, the sole object of the movement,—what progress it had then made, and what chance remained of resisting it with success. The whole question, as had been admitted by all parties, must turn upon the attitude of the National Guard. The military men who had been most consulted by the Court and the Ministry had expressed their belief that the troops might be trusted to act against the

people without the National Guard. Still of this they spoke doubtfully, for it was the first time the experiment had been made since the revolution of July; but though military discipline and impulse might carry them through the first trial, they all questioned their continuing to act against the National Guard. The conduct of the Government towards the National Guard was marked by extraordinary vacillation, as already noted; and when they were called out for the first time, on the Wednesday morning, most of the battalions then mustered received the first word of command with cries of "*à bas Guizot!*" No one who had not passed the few preceding weeks in Paris could have any idea of the amount of unpopularity which that Minister had accumulated upon himself. It was universal. It pervaded alike the *salons*, the *cafés*, and the crowded streets. This torrent of popular odium, continually rising, threatened to flood the very benches of the majority; and its force was every day fed by the whole of the press, with one solitary exception.

About eleven o'clock on the Wednesday, in the Rue de Pelletier, the National Guards of the 3rd Legion, after shouting "*à bas Guizot!*" interposed between the populace and the troops, and the latter retired temporarily into their quarters. Immediately after this significant demonstration, the superior officers of some of the legions belonging to that part of the town, escorted by a battalion

of the 3rd Legion, marched to the Tuilleries, and through General Jacqueminot, the commander-in-chief, who was in attendance there, conveyed to the King that the National Guard would not fight to defend the Ministry, which had become odious to the people. Before one can form a correct opinion as to whether any alternative was left to the King, one must recollect what the National Guard was, and the relation in which it stood to the monarchy of July. The National Guard consisted precisely of the class, but for whose good will and pleasure the Orleans Dynasty would have been an untenable usurpation. It was, in point of fact, the only barrier between this pseudo-monarchy and pure democracy; and it was one of the greatest political mistakes made by the showy orators and clever tacticians who formed the last Cabinet of Louis-Philippe, that they neglected and disgusted the armed aristocracy of the bourgeoisie, who had, indeed, become the third estate in the realm, the Chamber of Peers having fallen into hopeless disrepute since it had been swamped by the creatures of the King. But the ultimate legislation of this armed bourgeoisie, thus treated, was sure to be in the streets; and when their edicts were traced with the point of the bayonet, visions of Louis XIV. could no longer protect the creature of their will from a sense of his dependence upon them. It was, perhaps, a natural conclusion of the universal disappointment he had caused, that the

Citizen-King, having belied his origin and betrayed his trust, should fall on the place and by the hands from which he sprung; but at this moment there was still a resource, somewhat degrading, but by no means desperate. The usual constitutional responsibilities had, as yet, protected him from any direct attack. The universal indignation of the people had, as yet, been concentrated on one other man; and I should be indeed surprised to hear that the Minister who had left his Sovereign in ignorance up to that time of the well-known disposition of the whole middle class, as represented by the National Guard—who had kept the troops for *six-and-thirty hours* powerless, in the utter absence of any intelligible orders—could seriously have asserted, that, had he only been allowed to remain, all would have been well, and that his dismissal caused the evil.

The person to whom this language is attributed is, perhaps, the only one in the world who could not in perfect safety have been an eye-witness of the scene which Paris displayed on that Wednesday afternoon; he might otherwise have satisfied himself of the effect produced by the news of the fall of the Guizot Ministry. The moment the news was spread, people were to be seen shaking hands with each other in the streets, in token of mutual congratulation; the barricades were in most places thrown down; joy was in every countenance. The funds rose considerably,—no bad test when the

rise is shown in favour of any change ; and this, be it recollectcd, was not in consequence of any special favour felt towards the supposed head of the new Ministry. Count Molé had been too long removed from the active contest of political life to excite much positive sympathy. He was universally respected rather than popular. The people, however, were heard to say amongst each other, "Au moins c'est un honnête homme."

At night the illuminations were almost universal, in consequence of which, and from a yet unexplained accident, all the subsequent evil arose. Many hostile commotions in different countries have arisen from opposition to a popular demand to illuminate ; and this struggle had begun at the Hôtel de la Justice. The same crowd had approached the Hôtel des Affaires Étrangères for the same object, when the company of the troops drawn up in front of it fired an oblique volley down the Boulevards in both directions. I have heard from several English gentlemen, who were near the spot at the time, that they were quite unable to trace the cause of this apparently unprovoked act. The account first given, that the officer in command had been killed by a pistol-shot from a man close to him, was evidently not true. Some assert that the incident was prepared by the Communists, in despair at seeing so peaceful a termination of the crisis. Whatever may have been the panic which caused this unfortunate step, the massacre which

then occurred produced an instantaneous change in the spirit of the people. They cried out for vengeance, for arms; and, for the first time, "*à mort Guizot!*" was heard, instead of the previous cry, "*à bas Guizot!*" There was an erroneous supposition that he had been at the Affaires Étrangères, and had given the order for the troops to fire, instead of being, as he really was, at the Tuileries. It is rather a curious fact, in connection with the accusation now said to be made by the ex-Minister that Louis-Philippe had suddenly and causelessly withdrawn his confidence from him, that he remained till nearly 11 o'clock on Thursday morning at the Tuileries, still giving unacknowledged advice to the King. As I have already committed to paper my own impressions of most of the events as they occurred, I confine this retrospect to those points alone which I believe myself to have omitted. It is, perhaps, not well known to strangers in general that there are in Paris what are called Sections, which are associations of Republicans communicating with each other, and, thus organised, exercising indirectly influence over workmen to the amount of more than double their own number. That number has been differently represented, but I believe it to be about thirty thousand; and it is at the good will and pleasure of this body that we are at present living.

The Sections, on the Saturday preceding the

revolution, had had a meeting, and had decided that the occasion was not favourable for their ultimate purposes, and that they would not go out, or, in the first instance, take any part in the pending events; but that if the collision became serious, and blood was shed, then they would from that moment take the lead in the movement. Immediately after the slaughter at the Affaires Étrangères, they put in execution their previously arranged plans, and in the course of the night barricades were thickly raised throughout Paris. Had therefore the King refused the demand of the National Guard for the dismissal of his Ministry, a collision between the people backed by the National Guard, and the troops, would have taken place only a few hours sooner; blood must have been shed. The Sections would have had a few more hours of darkness to raise their barricades, and the next morning would have found matters in precisely the same state as actually occurred.

The reserve prescribed in speaking of those in misfortune should be mutual, and depends upon their maintaining a becoming silence as to the causes which produced the catastrophe. There are many reasons why I would avoid, at this moment, saying anything in aggravation of the mistakes of the Minister upon whose proud and self-reliant nature the feelings produced by his sudden fall must press with peculiar severity: but I am living now in the midst of all the afflicting details of the

ruin of a great country—ruin which not only involves all her own interests for many years to come, but which endangers all around her, making her, as others are weak or wise, as they imbibe the varying impressions of one day or the next, a lure or a warning to the rest of the world,—and therefore, if I hear the assertions of what the ex-Minister might still have done had he had the power, I cannot quite forget what he had done up to the last moment,—that he wantonly, in the arrogance of power, provoked a crisis which found him, for two days, utterly resourceless and unprepared to resist the consequences of his own act.

March 10.

All that passed within the Tuileries in the first hours after it had been abandoned by its royal occupants may unhappily be found to have likewise occurred on former occasions, in the maddening triumph of popular fury. But what I believe to be entirely without parallel is, that this palace, one of the first monuments of the greatness of the country, should have been left till within the last three or four days in the unopposed possession of a band consisting of the lowest *canaille* of Paris. For nearly a fortnight did a Government, assuming to be the choice of the French nation, and addressing mani-

festoes in its name to the rest of Europe, feel itself so utterly powerless at home, that it did not dare to rescue a spot, endeared by so many historical traditions; from the pollution of desperate men and abandoned women. These had never quitted this scene of their unopposed triumph from the afternoon of the 24th, when having rushed in, the work of destruction immediately began, diversified only by that low humour, so often, here, the accompaniment of wanton mischief. The example of this variety of insult, I am told, was first set by M. Étienne Arago, brother of the great Arago, who wrote his name in the King's visiting-book, which he found in the entrance-hall, and invited all who followed him, who *could* write (which were not many), to do the same. For one hour did a succession of men and women, with every variety of insulting grimace, seat themselves on the throne by turns, after which it was taken by a portion of the mob through the streets to the column of July, on the Place de la Bastille, and there burnt. The rest having established themselves as a garrison in the Tuilleries, sent for their families, or chose their female companions. "Hôtel des Invalides Civiles" was written by one of those who had taken possession of the palace on its wall. And all being completely armed, they closed the doors, took possession of stores of provisions, barricaded themselves in, and refused to admit any other intruders; and thus matters have been allowed to remain almost till now.

I happen to know some curious details of this singular interim. A small tradesman whose son was supposed to have been killed in the three days, had gone into mourning for his loss and was passing the Tuileries the other day, when he saw the son he thought dead on guard at the door, for these *gamins* took it by turns to guard their fortress. "Comment, c'est toi, malheureux enfant, que nous avons pleuré comme mort!" "Mais oui, mon père, tu ne sais pas que depuis que je t'ai vu, j'ai pris le Palais; pourrais-je t'offrir à déjeuner?" "Je ne demande pas mieux." "Viens donc." And he took his father up the great stair, and there he found a motley group. Men who had made themselves *robes de chambre* out of the damask hangings or the velvet curtains, tied round their waist with strips of cashmere shawls; one man with the King's well-known cocked hat, much battered and broken, stuck upon his head. Women in satin and silver dresses, an immense fire in the room, and eating of all kinds going on. "Voulez-vous du gigot et comment? aux truffes ou aux petits pois? C'est que hier nous avons eu des truffes pour huit jours; va pour les petits pois;" and he respectfully handed his father a plate of excellent boiled mutton with preserved peas. It appears that upon their arrival they had recognised and seized a man, who was at that time cook to an English gentleman, and they had kept him constantly occupied for them ever since. A valet-de-chambre of the Duc de Nemours,

and a woman of the Duchess's, had remained all the time in the château, and had succeeded in saving some valuable property belonging to their master and mistress. On the 6th the intruders were all cleared out. One man was searched as he came forth; his clothes were found lined with money, and his stockings filled with *billets de banque*; he was given over to summary justice.

Having received private instructions to do my best to recover some portraits in process of execution for our Queen, and having heard from the artist that he had left them at the Tuilleries, as soon as that palace was at length cleared, I obtained an order, and went with Lady N. to see if we could discover any trace of these works of art: but the state into which almost every work of the same description had been brought by these savage destroyers soon showed us how vain any hope of their recovery must be. It was true the portraits of the Duke and Duchess of Orleans and the Prince de Joinville had been spared, but the devastation was otherwise general. In the Salle des Maréchaux some portraits of those who had well deserved of their country, as Soult and Bugeaud, were brutally disfigured: most of the other description of pictures, which could have given no offence, were cut into strips with a knife. They had tied a *bandeau* over the eyes of the bust of Louis-Philippe, to signify that it was he who was "*un aveugle*," and then fired a volley till they had shivered it to atoms.

It was painful to pass through the room where, on the last night before the revolution, I had seen the court all assembled so full of confidence. It was disfigured with scrawls and denuded of furniture. Alluding to the spot where had stood the Queen's round table, at which I had left all the Princesses sitting, I was told that it had been upset and broken upon the first irruption ; but that upon ascertaining what it had been, a portion of the *canaille* had replaced it, and insisted upon having an *orgie* round it before it was burnt. There seemed a chance that the missing pictures might be found in the Duchess of Orleans' apartments, which had been spared, partly from the entrance being separate, and partly, one hopes, from the same solitary impulse of good feeling which had left their portraits untouched. This search was also fruitless ; when M. St. Arinand, the great chess-player, who had just been appointed Governor of the Tuilleries, informed us that the late Duke of Orleans' own sitting-room, which had been locked up on the day of his death, had only that morning been opened, and remained perfectly untouched as he had last left it, I readily accepted his offer to allow us to visit it. Striking indeed was the change of scene under the same roof, and connecting itself with the history of the same family. In the state apartments, I had assisted, how recently, at the last royal reception, when the courtiers, the *Officiers d'Ordonnance*, the *Huissiers d'Annonce*, and all bearing those modi-

fied titles by which the appanages of citizen royalty were called, seemed to consider themselves as firmly established as the foundation of the building; and yet, not only had every living creature seen there before vanished, but every material adjunct had been defaced or destroyed, every emblem of state bore the peculiar mark of degradation. The private chambers, the chosen resort of refined privacy, had been forced open and exposed. The toilette-tables of the royal ladies had been ransacked: their very rooms had been appropriated and tenanted by those of their sex the most unworthy to occupy them. I have reason to believe that crimes of every description were committed by brutal natures who had every facility for concealment or impunity. Low debauchery was the routine of the four-and-twenty hours, and an additional zest was given to frantic excesses, by the grovelling pride that they were polluting a spot which had been rescued from royalty, and which, moreover, in all its internal arrangements, had latterly been a model of propriety and decorum.

Sickened at the spectacle just seen, and with no inclination to prolong an inspection so fully confirming the accounts previously heard of the disgraceful proceedings of those who had been so long permitted to keep armed occupation of the palace, it was refreshing to turn to a memorial still intact of conjugal affection, by which, through the lapse of years, the traces of the last moments of the

Duke of Orleans had been preserved unchanged. The key, when turned in the lock, showed, for the first time to stranger eyes, a room just as His Royal Highness had quitted it on the morning of his untimely end. On the floor on each side of the *fauteuil* on which he had been reclining, lay scattered the newspapers of the day, all bearing the tell-tale date of the fatal 13th of July, 1842. On the table, within his reach, was a plate with the remains of a crust. That broken bread, still bearing the marks where it had been severed by those fingers so soon to be stiffened in death, had been the last earthly sustenance of which he had partaken. On a commode by the wall was a row of his hats, with gloves upon their brim, all left for his selection, and a gap still remained where had stood the one he had chosen. A little incident struck me at the time, which may not bear the interpretation I was inclined to give it: on a table, nearer the door, was a small *cravache*, as if it had been taken up with an intention of riding on horseback, and thrown carelessly down there upon change of purpose. I could not even feel sure that the whip had been the Duke's, but the human mind readily yields itself to the impulsive temptation of speculating how the change of one small incident might have altered the whole course of events.

If the Duke of Orleans had proceeded on horseback to Neuilly,—if that evil hour of his destiny

had thus been avoided,—if his life had thus been preserved,—if his deserved popularity had been still upon the increase,—if he had used it, as all who knew him best think he would, to counteract that baneful influence to which the poor old King had yielded with such infatuation,—if—and if—and if—but such speculations are worse than useless: the issues of life and death are in other hands than ours; it came to pass as it had been ordained.

We were informed (as one would have expected), that it was the intention of the Government to remove quietly and respectfully, but immediately, all these traces of the former occupant of this room. It can be no part of their policy to preserve anything likely to revive the recollection of the popularity of the Duke of Orleans, lest it should be reflected upon the alternative of the Regency. As there is no one here at all interested in such *souvenirs*, who is likely to share with us the permission obtained from the present Government to visit these scenes, we shall probably remain the only persons, except those actually employed in the removal of these records, who will ever be eye-witnesses to the fact, that the last material trace of the ephemeral occupation by the Orleans dynasty of the palace which had belonged, of right, to the head of their House, had been preserved intact by the enduring affection of an attached wife towards that heir apparent, so prematurely removed

from a succession which his rare union of personal qualities seemed so well calculated to adorn and confirm.

March 11.

The state of the finances of this country is still the one point upon which the general anxiety principally turns. However erroneous, and indeed absurd, may have been some of the theories which in the first moments of their existence the Provisional Government through some of its members put forth, the real evil commenced with the thoughtless concessions made in a moment of panic by some of the principal capitalists, who ought by a timely firmness to have maintained their own rights, and with them the true interests of all classes. Some allowance must be made for persons interested in property so vulnerable as that of railroads: but the Directors of the Northern line, even before the decree of the Government that the hours of labour should be reduced to ten, had yielded to a demand forced upon them that the workmen they employed should only have nine hours' labour. They had also led the way to other similar regulations, by discharging at once, when asked, all the English employed, the practical objection to them not being so much with reference to their country, as to their

having higher wages on account of greater skill. They have since, I understand, agreed to a demand, most objectionable of all in point of principle if forced upon them, that the workmen shall be paid by a certain share in the profits of the railway. All these proceedings, imitated in other quarters, have destroyed every vestige of confidence in commercial circles. Two days ago the Government had a very serious determination to take; they received a deputation from men engaged in various business transactions in Paris, requesting that a farther delay of ten days in the payment of the *échéances* should be decreed. The necessity of the case made them at one time take this arbitrary measure into their serious consideration; but it was represented to them that its effect would be felt far and wide; that it would destroy their foreign commerce; that no further orders would be executed upon French Bills in America or elsewhere: and upon the whole they decided to stand the present shock. Yesterday was the day to which these payments had been previously postponed, and it passed off, at first, better than was expected; but I grieve to hear of several sad failures this morning, one of Messrs. Chas. Lafitte and Blount, a most respectable firm. M. Blount is connected with some of the first Roman Catholic families of England. They had been principal proprietors in the Havre and Paris, and in the Boulogne and Amiens Railways. I also hear that the

house of Baudin, which was of first-rate importance, is gone, and that others least suspected are at this moment in great difficulty. In the universal panic which prevails, it is impossible to speculate upon the extent to which this may operate, and how far it may aggravate the political dangers of the moment. Some of the financial expedients to which the Government have resorted within the last two or three days, may do some good; others are peculiarly absurd. It is childish to speak of saving a country in such a crisis by selling the crown plate and jewels. The sale of a portion of the crown forests, on the other hand, it is thought may produce immediate advances, if there are advantages given as to the mode of payment upon the greater portion. The National Loan may produce something, though I am told nothing like the amount supposed. An issue of paper currency is much talked about these last two days, though previously scouted as reviving the recollection of the assignats; but the Government may yet be reduced to desperate expedients to avoid, at any price, the danger of a rising *en masse* of the unemployed operatives. One knows what the pressure of want will do even in the most regularly organised societies; and it is therefore impossible to contemplate without anxiety its natural effect upon a community so recently shaken to its base. At the same time, it does not appear that the doctrines of communism have made much progress with the

masses, though, if work should be suddenly withheld, they would be likely to join at once in any scheme, however wild, that seemed to authorise their supporting themselves at the expense of others.

CHAP. VI.

CONVERSATION WITH M. LAMARTINE ON LEDRU-ROLLIN'S CIRCULAR.—HIS IGNORANCE OF ITS EXISTENCE.—CHANGE IN THE NUMBER OF THE MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT.—LAMARTINE'S EXPLANATION.—THE PROCESS BY WHICH REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENTS ARE SOMETIMES FORMED.—UNANIMOUS DESIRE TO CULTIVATE THE ENGLISH ALLIANCE.—GLOOM OVER THE POLITICAL HORIZON.—SCHISM IN THE GOVERNMENT.—CHARACTER OF LEDRU-ROLLIN.—THE ENGLISH WORKMEN AND THE SAVINGS' BANK LIMITATIONS.—THE NATIONAL GUARD QUESTION.—PROCESSIONS OF WORKMEN TO THE HÔTEL-DE-VILLE.—SCENE BETWEEN MM. LEDRU-ROLLIN AND GARNIER-PAGÈS.—RAPID ADVANCE TOWARDS ANARCHY.—THE IRISH FLAG.—LEDRU-ROLLIN'S "REIGN OF TERROR."—CONDUCT OF THE IRISH IN PARIS. ANSWERS TO ENGLISH AND IRISH DEPUTATIONS.—DISCHARGE OF ENGLISH FROM THE DIEPPE RAILWAY.—EXPECTED THREATENING DEMONSTRATION OF FOREIGNERS AGAINST LAMARTINE.—ATTITUDE OF THE PROVINCES.—ENGLISH CAPITAL IN DANGER.

March 12.

SUBJOINED is the Circular of M. Ledru-Rollin to the Commissaries or Deputies of the Republic, given in the "Moniteur" of this morning. As soon as I had read it I felt convinced of its mischievous tendency, and took it in my hand to M. Lamartine, saying that as, in the provisional state in which our relations at present were, he had

encouraged me to speak my opinion freely on points where I felt it might be useful, I could not avoid telling him plainly I had never thought so ill of the future destinies of his country as since I had read this morning's Circular of the Minister of the Interior. I added that when men chosen, as too many of their Commissaries had been, were told that their powers are unlimited; that the elections are to be their *work*; that republican sentiments required to be strongly excited; that the Assembly must be animated by a revolutionary spirit; that new men must be sought, and if possible men of the people and workmen; when such doctrines are to be enforced by power arbitrarily exercised, there is an end of any pretence of freedom of choice; with us such interference with the rights of election by a Government regularly established would be called the worst of tyranny, and that it was above all important for the position of France towards Europe that the results of these elections should be received as the free expression of the national will. I was indeed surprised to hear that M. Lamartine had *never seen* this most important Circular. He read it over with me, and quite agreed with the opinion of it I had just expressed. Upon the first paragraph he exclaimed, "He would make Proconsuls, not Commissaries;" further on, "that it was the creation of an Electoral Dictatorship," and he repeated frequently on reading it, "Très-mauvais." I could not help mentioning to

him that I thought there could be no duty more pressing upon a leading member of the Government than not to allow such documents to go forth to the public without his sanction. He said, "*Que voulez-vous?* we have so much of such immediate urgency." I again pressed upon him that there should, at least, be some previous understanding between the members of the Provisional Government as to the principles upon which the individual members should act. He said for the future he would endeavour to find time to watch these matters more closely, and as to this mistake he would try to correct it as far as lay in his power. He could not publish a counter-manifesto as a member of the Government, but he would to-morrow write an address to his own Department which should be universally circulated, and which should lay down very different principles, and enforce very different duties upon the electors at the coming elections. I encouraged M. Lamartine to put himself forward as a rallying point to the well-disposed of all the different divisions of the Liberal party, who were inclined to come forward in the hopes of saving the country, but who would be discouraged by such an ill-timed Ministerial Circular. I hear M. Lamartine had two days since encouraged M. Molé to offer himself for election in his Department. I do not think that these times have ever offered a finer specimen of patriotic devotion than that presented by such an act on the part of Count Molé, considering his age, his station in society,

and the high positions which, as a statesman, he has so often held.

I cannot but own that this specimen of the little control the leading members of the Government at present exercise over the departmental acts has very much discouraged me as to the ultimate prospects of the present experiment.

"Circulaire du Ministre de l'Intérieur aux Commissaires du Gouvernement Provisoire.

" 11 Mars 1848.

" La circulaire qui vous est parvenue et qui a été publiée traçait vos devoirs. Il importe que j'entre avec vous dans quelques détails, et que je précise plus nettement ce que j'attends de votre patriotisme, maintenant que, par vos soins, la République est proclamée.

" Dans plusieurs départements, on m'a demandé quels étaient vos pouvoirs. Le citoyen Ministre de la Guerre s'en est inquiété en ce qui touche vos rapports avec les chefs militaires. Plusieurs d'entre vous veulent être fixés sur la ligne de conduite à suivre vis-à-vis de la magistrature ; enfin, la Garde Nationale et les élections, les élections surtout, doivent être l'objet de votre constante préoccupation.

“1. Quels sont vos pouvoirs ?

“ Ils sont illimités. Agent d'une autorité révolutionnaire, vous êtes révolutionnaire aussi. La victoire du peuple vous a imposé le mandat de faire proclamer, de consolider son œuvre. Pour l'accomplissement de cette tâche, vous êtes investi de sa souveraineté, vous ne relevez que de votre conscience, vous devez faire ce que les circonstances exigent pour le salut public.

Grâce à nos mœurs, cette mission n'a rien de terrible. Jusqu'ici vous n'avez eu à briser aucune résistance sérieuse, et vous avez pu demeurer calme dans votre force ; il ne faut cependant pas vous faire illusion sur l'état du pays. Les sentiments républicains y doivent être vivement excités, et pour cela il faut confier toutes les fonctions politiques à des hommes sûrs et sympathiques. Partout les préfets et sous-préfets doivent être changés, dans quelques localités on réclame leur maintien — c'est à vous de faire comprendre aux populations, qu'on ne peut conserver ceux qui ont servi un pouvoir dont chaque acte était une corruption.

“2. Vos rapports avec les chefs Militaires.

“ Vous exercez les pouvoirs de l'autorité exécutive — la force armée est donc sous vos ordres. Vous la requérez, vous la mettez en mouvement, vous pouvez même, dans les cas graves, suspendre un chef de corps, en m'en référant immédiatement.

“3. Vos rapports avec la Magistrature.

“La magistrature ne relève de l'autorité exécutive que dans le cercle précis tracé par les lois. Vous exigerez des parquets un concours dévoué — partout où vous ne le rencontrerez pas, vous m'en avertirez en m'indiquant le nom de ceux que recommandent leur droiture et leur fermeté. J'en ferai immédiatement part au Ministre de la Justice. Quant à la magistrature inamovible, vous la surveillerez, et si quelqu'un de ses membres se montrait publiquement hostile, vous pourriez user du droit de suspension que vous confère votre autorité souveraine.

“4. Les Élections.

“Les élections sont votre grande œuvre, elles doivent être le salut du pays. C'est de la composition de l'Assemblée que dépendent nos destinées. Il faut qu'elle soit animée de l'esprit révolutionnaire, sinon nous marchons à la guerre civile et à l'anarchie. A ce sujet, mettez-vous en garde contre les intrigues des hommes à double visage, qui, après avoir servi la royauté, se disent les serviteurs du peuple. Ceux-là vous trompent, et vous devez leur refuser votre appui. Sachez bien que, pour briguer l'honneur de siége à l'Assemblée Nationale, il faut être pur des traditions du passé. Que votre mot d'ordre soit partout : des hommes nouveaux, et autant que possible sortants du peuple.

“Les travailleurs, qui sont la force vive de la nation, doivent choisir parmi eux ceux que recom-

mandent leur intelligence, leur moralité, leur dévouement : réunis à l'élite des penseurs, ils apporteront à la discussion de toutes les grandes questions qui vont s'agiter l'autorité de leur expérience pratique. Ils continueront la révolution, et la contiendront dans les limites du possible et de la raison. Sans eux, elle s'égarerait en vaines utopies, ou serait étouffée sous l'effort d'une faction rétrograde.

“ Éclairez les électeurs, et répétez-leur sans cesse que le règne des hommes de la monarchie est fini.

“ Vous comprenez combien ici votre tâche est grande. L'éducation du pays n'est pas faite. C'est à vous de le guider. Provoquez sur tous les points de votre département la réunion de comités électoraux, examinez sévèrement les titres de candidats. Arrêtez-vous à ceux-là seulement qui paraissent présenter le plus de garanties à l'opinion républicaine, le plus de chances de succès. Pas de transactions, pas de complaisances. Que le jour de l'élection soit le triomphe de la révolution.

“ Le Membre du Gouvernement Provisoire,
“ Ministre de l'Intérieur,
“ LEDRU-ROLLIN.”

March 13.

Upon the occasion of my comments to Lamartine on the subject of the circular of M. Ledru-Rollin, he had used the expression, "the majority of the Government;" upon my alluding, this morning, to an answer given by M. Garnier-Pagès to an address of the Chartists, as an assurance that anything said by him could not have been intentionally offensive, he specified him as one of that majority. I availed myself of that occasion to ask Lamartine, how it came that there was any minority beyond the original unit, how it was that M. Ledru-Rollin did not still stand alone, as a member of the Government representing extreme opinions,—how the original Government of seven had become *eleven*. Lamartine said that was a question he could not answer precisely. The four others had been named Secretaries, and as such had signed the Decrees near the bottom of the page; that little by little they crept up and mixed themselves with the others; the adjunct of Secretaries was then omitted, and they came to have a consultative voice with those first named. This certainly is a most original specimen of popular choice, but I was told it by Lamartine as if it had been a simple step to which he could not possibly have taken any objection. He added, that when upon the transfer of M. Garnier-Pagès from the post of Mayor of Paris to that of Minister of Finance, M. Armand Marrast, who succeeded him,

must at any rate have had a consultative voice, and that his addition was an advantage, as his were the extreme right opinions in the Government. "I am the centre," said Lamartine.*

* I cannot help requesting the reader of these pages to pause a few moments whilst I place clearly before his view the process by which revolutionary governments are sometimes formed. This, it will be recollectcd, was announced in its first proclamation as "Sorti d'acclamation et d'urgence par la voix du Peuple et des Députés des Départemens dans le Louvre, 24 Février, &c.

"Il est composé de

MM. Dupont de l'Eure.

Lamartine.

Crémieux.

Arago.

Ledru-Rollin.

Garnier-Pagès.

Marie.

"Ce Gouvernement a pour Secrétaires

MM. Armand Marrast.

Louis Blanc.

Ferdinand Flocon.

Albert."

And thus it is they signed their first decrees.

The first change was that the list was headed "Les Membres du Gouvernement Provisoire," but that there was no hiatus between the first seven and the last four, who were no longer announced as secretaries to the others. The next proclamation completed the usurpation, as the words "Membres du Gouvernement Provisoire" were placed at the bottom, instead of the top of the eleven names, so as pointedly to include them all. Was there ever such legerdemain as this practised by these four escamoteurs of absolute power over thirty-five millions, tho immense majority of which never heard the name of any except Louis Blanc, whose history had been placarded over the walls of Paris? It appears to be as easy to filch a share of a soi-disant popular dictatorship as to forge an acceptance, or to pick a pocket.

The conversation had begun by my calling his attention to the observations, made in London, upon the report of the answer given by M. Garnier-Pagès to an address presented by the Chartist Committee of London to the Provisional Government of France. He, in the first place, expressed to me his thankful sense of the confidence expressed in the sincerity of his sentiments towards England. He assured me that nothing could be farther from the intention of the Provisional Government, than, upon any occasion, to use any language which might give just cause of offence to her Majesty's Government, by whom they felt they had been treated with every possible consideration. He hoped it would be recollect'd, with reference to any casual expression which might appear objectionable, that their answers were given impromptu by some member of the Provisional Government who happened to be there; that they were in the midst of not always a very silent crowd; that the words were used without premeditation, and often not very correctly reported. But that he was glad this occasion had presented itself to assure me again that, upon one point it appeared to him all his colleagues were agreed, viz., in a unanimous desire to cultivate the English alliance, and not in any way to interfere in the internal affairs of the British Empire. He believed that any national jealousy between the people had completely subsided. Those unfortunate transactions

to which I had been alluding, between the workmen, originated in a labour competition, and had nothing to do with anti-English feeling. He said, at the same time, that nothing could have been more fair than the conduct of the English Government towards them in all their early difficulties; and Lamartine was good enough to beg I would convey to my employers how much the Provisional Government felt they were indebted to myself personally, as the organ of the sentiments of my Government. I thanked Lamartine for the assurances he had given, which I felt were perfectly sincere on his own part and that of his colleagues; but I took that occasion to remark upon the use that might be made, by the ill-disposed, of an indiscreet phrase, even when uttered by those of whose sincerity the British Government were most firmly convinced.

I called Lamartine's attention to an address of the Council of the Irish Confederation, in which an allusion was made to his diplomatic Circular; and it was boldly affirmed that there were three nationalities which he had undertaken to restore, — Poland, Italy, and Ireland. "As to Ireland," Lamartine at once replied, "I never can hear of Irish nationality in any other sense except as identical with English nationality."

March 14.

An increased gloom has, within the last three or four days, been gathering over the political horizon ; and every one now talks with more despondency as to the future ; and all speakers now begin with — “If we reach the National Assembly.” One of the grounds of doubt certainly is the financial convulsion, which has been much aggravated by panic, though most serious in itself. Accumulating ruin is every day overwhelming thousands, and will, before many more are over, indirectly affect millions. This is, of course, calculated to increase the pressure and to double the danger of any political crisis. The aspect of affairs is also threatening in this respect : there is a decided schism established in the Provisional Government ; and yet, unless dissolved by some violent convulsion, they must continue nominally to work together till the National Assembly meets, being all equally supposed to owe their power to a spontaneous emanation of the popular will. The state of the case I take to be this : the moderate party in the Government, to which the great body of the nation are looking as their only safety, is led by M. Lamartine, who, as yet, has been backed by a decided majority of the other members. The disposition of this majority is still supposed to be good ; but there are doubts as to the courage of several, should the threatened pressure from without become intense. The great point

in dispute at this moment is, whether the elections should be postponed or not. This step, which is strongly advocated by the clubs, is supported in the Government by M. Ledru-Rollin, M. Louis Blanc, and M. Albert. Ledru-Rollin, the nominal head of this party, is a man of no great capacity, and not undoubted moral courage, but a regular mob orator, of ruined fortune, who is desirous, as long as he can, to maintain his present power, and quite bold enough to attempt anything, provided he feels himself backed by a multitude. The Jacobin clubs and the Communists are said to form but a very small proportion of the population of Paris ; but they are armed and organised, and, one cannot but fear, will in a few days be joined in any demonstration by many thousands of workmen out of employ.

The general feeling of the country is sound ; but there exists no combined object. They desire to resist what they dread ; but they have no rallying point. They cannot cordially support a Government most of whose acts they disapprove ; and they can hardly take as a recognised leader a man who himself is, though often unconsciously, a party to these very acts. Lainartine is this very day prepared to resist with energy the demand that will be made at the Hôtel-de-Ville, by an overwhelming multitude, for the adjournment of the elections, with the almost avowed purpose of arranging machinery to tyrannise over the provinces. He will there, probably, impose by his eloquence and his firmness ; but he, unfor-

tunately, has not some of the qualities required to trace out all the under-plots by which his colleagues endeavour to circumvent him. All at this moment depends upon the spirit and the resolution of the National Guard. It happens that the time of the annual elections of the officers was fixed for next Saturday. Arrangements have been made which, in most of the legions, would have secured a very fair selection; but the violent party wanted opportunity to swamp the original regiments with the recent admissions, and, in order that more of the working classes might enrol themselves, they have obtained four days' delay, nominally on the ground of giving time to fuse the flank companies which have been dissolved into the others. The dissolution of the flank companies was, in reality, an insidious design to destroy their efficiency; and the effect of this measure was not sufficiently foreseen by Lamartine, and has disgusted four-and-twenty thousand of the most resolute and best-disposed men. It is most important that he should, within the next few days, rally around him the sympathies of the National Guard; then, I doubt not, he might come victorious out of the next struggle in the streets of Paris, which all now seem inclined to think must sooner or later precede anything like a permanent settlement.

March 15.

I received a communication from the Vice-Consul of Rouen as to the hard case of the English workmen who had placed money in the savings' bank, and who, by the decree of the Provisional Government, could only obtain its repayment under regulations which prevented them from receiving the value in a shape which would enable them to return to their own country. I brought the case before Lamartine, and urged the injustice of subjecting those who were almost forced to leave the country to conditions which required them either to remain or to sacrifice that which they had invested upon the faith of settled regulations. M. Lamartine at once admitted that this would be a monstrous injustice, and promised me to speak to the Minister of Finance upon the subject. To-day he announced to me that he had arranged the matter, and that Englishmen leaving the country would be relieved from the limitations placed upon others as to the repayments from the savings' banks.

Mr. Featherstonehaugh, our Consul at Havre, also came to me to-day to state, that in several instances the new local authorities had directly interfered to prevent the employment of English workmen; that they had directed the proprietors of the steam-boats in the Seine to discharge the

English engineers ; and that the head engineer of a large manufactory at Rouen had written to the Vice-Consul a letter, which he brought me, stating that the authorities there had directed his master to discharge him. I thought it would be desirable at once to put M. Lamartine in possession of facts proving how the employés of the Government had violated their duty in so unwarrantable an interference with the management of private property. M. Lamartine undertook to make an immediate representation of it to the Minister of the Interior.

Mr. Featherstonehaugh's account of the commercial prospects at Rouen and Havre was so desperate, that I acquiesced in his suggestion that he should, as soon as possible, remove to their native country the 3000 or 4000 English workmen employed in factories in the neighbourhood of Rouen. He says it is quite impossible these factories can go on working more than a few days longer ; and then, with twenty or thirty thousand French workmen out of employ, and starving, it is but too probable that they might proceed to acts of violence towards those whom they have long looked upon with jealousy as, from their greater skill, taking the bread out of their mouths. I have advised Mr. Featherstonehaugh that any arrangement for the departure of such a body of English workmen should be begun as quickly, and proceed as gradually, as is consistent with their safety.

March 16.

There need no longer be any reserve in commenting upon the division that has established itself amongst the members of the Provisional Government. M. Lamartine made it sufficiently notorious yesterday, in the answer he gave to the Republican Club at the Hôtel-de-Ville, who came to complain of the circular of M. Ledru-Rollin. There could not possibly be a more complete disclaimer of all the sentiments of that circular: all the doctrines which had excited so much alarm during the preceding days were scouted as tyrannical. So strong was the language used, and so powerful the effect produced, that it was thought impossible M. Ledru-Rollin could remain a member of the Government; and, accordingly, the report prevailed during the latter part of the evening, that he had been ejected by his colleagues, and the funds at once rose four per cent. This report was, however, at any rate, premature; and it does not appear at all likely that so desperate and unscrupulous a party as that nominally headed by M. Ledru-Rollin would give up without a struggle in the streets. The demonstration by which it was intended to have coerced the Government into the postponement of the elections has been put off till to-morrow, hence one must infer, either that their preparations are

not complete, or, in the absence of more imposing numbers, they do not wish to be brought into contact with the numerous deputations in a contrary sense which will this day throng the Hôtel-de-Ville. Amongst these will be all the flank companies of the National Guard of Paris, to protest against the Ordinance dissolving the companies before the elections; the evident object of which was to prevent their acting in accord in their selection of the superior officers. There appears to me to be no other course for the Provisional Government to take than to throw themselves fearlessly upon the National Guard, and to grant whatever is reasonable in their request without attempting to avoid giving offence to the other party; and when M. Lamartine spoke to me this morning on the subject, this was the language I held to him: but I still doubt whether the Provisional Government may not fall into the fatal error of damping the spirits of this most important body, by the manner in which they receive their requests to-day.

Lainartine was evidently pleased with his success yesterday at the Hôtel-de-Ville, and spoke this morning with more confidence in the result, though he still says it will be a great struggle whenever it comes on, and that the extreme party has everything to gain and nothing to lose; but if the good men are also true, they are much the most numerous. When so much depends upon La-

martine's life, one cannot help fearing in such a struggle he may be picked off. He does not seem to anticipate any deliberate assassination, as the reaction would be dreaded; but there is a plan to overpower the National Guard at the Affaires Étrangères, to carry him off and shut him up in one of the fortresses now in possession of the Garde Mobile, who are most of them of the other party.

The streets are crowded, and groups are formed on different parts of the Boulevards discussing the various views of the National Guard question; but, unless produced by accidental circumstances, there is not likely to be any hostile collision till after the rejection, by the Provisional Government, of the proposal to adjourn the elections.

March 17.

It is impossible to note down with any certainty the result of the demonstration made by the National Guard, or to give a very clear account of what had been the precise object of that demonstration.

The most objectionable of the decrees of the Government with reference to that body was one in which the Minister of the Interior arrogated to himself the power of appointing a commission which

should arbitrarily annul, if it so thought fit, any of the elections of officers made by the National Guard.

The second, which directed the disbanding of the flank companies and the fusion of the men into the others, was inopportune on the eve of the annual elections, if indeed it had not for its object to break the spirit and to annihilate the influence of these companies, who were supposed to view the Republic without much favour. At this moment, when it is so necessary to maintain the discipline and the *esprit de corps* of the National Guard, as the only chance of maintaining order, such decrees ought never to have been permitted by the moderate party in the Government; but, like many other acts, they were proclaimed without any previous consultation. Under these circumstances, the demonstration of yesterday ought, at any risk, to have been prevented, by revoking the first decree and postponing the execution of the latter till after the elections. As the Government were not prepared to take this step, this demonstration against the decree was a great mistake on the part of those who had originated it. In such moments as these the friends of order can never gain anything by the display of numbers; above all, if brought to bear against existing authority, physical force is not on their side, except whilst cemented by discipline. They were accordingly told by M. Marrast, the Mayor of Paris, and Member of the Provisional Government, that they were encouraging others in

threatening demonstrations calculated to overawe the Government. Many of the legions were intercepted by crowds of workmen, partially armed, upon the quays, and obliged to turn back. They were, however, addressed by General Courtois, the Commandant of the National Guard, who, whilst they were in an excited state, unfortunately used very imprudent expressions, such as that they were "des contre-Révolutionnaires." This was resented by some of the young men near him, who, with an opprobrious epithet, took his sword from him, saying he was no longer worthy to command them. The sword, was, however, restored upon the interposition of a few others of the by-standing guards. But at such a moment this incident is very much to be regretted, as it is calculated to have the worst effect upon that union of the National Guard, upon which their safety depends.

Though the order disbanding the flank companies was intended to operate against their freedom of choice at the elections, yet, at this moment, it was peculiarly undesirable to make any demonstration which could be represented as intending to maintain exclusive privileges as *compagnie d'élite*.

I hear from the Hôtel-de-Ville that nothing remarkable is to be observed there, except the immense number of the populace, quiet and unarmed, but with demands for the disarming of the National Guard and the postponement of the elections.

The Prince de Ligne sent to me last night to beg I would receive some valuable packages of his, as he expected his hotel to be attacked by some Belgian Democrats, who threatened to come in great numbers to demand money to return to their own country, and stated that if it was not given they would demolish his house. It appears this demand was made yesterday by about five hundred, with flags, upon which was inscribed "Démocratie Belge." Upon his refusing to do anything upon menace, they told him three thousand would come to-day; but instead, only *three* came, in quite an altered tone, and with a humble petition for charity.

The Prince de Ligne said that when he went to Lamartine yesterday, to ask for protection, Lamartine said, "What can I do for you? I have not four men that I could send to protect anything. I am just returned from Appony's. He expected that the German Democrats were to come to him to convey their addresses to Vienna! (a brilliant idea that!) and he had but *la force morale de la parole*. I have been two hours there myself, to send them away if they had come."

This is an awkward state of things for the principal member of a Government to avow.

But when I saw Lamartine this morning, about other matters, he told me that their internal prospects looked better; that he had in the course of the last two nights seen delegates from most of the

clubs in Paris, and that he was convinced two-thirds or three-fourths of them were with him, and therefore his apprehension of their storming the Hôtel-de-Ville with 20,000 armed men, and upsetting the Provisional Government, had much diminished. I should be much more reassured by this revived confidence, did I not know both the qualities and the weaknesses of Lamartine himself. It is very probable that some of those obscure plotters, brought into his presence, would be fascinated by his address, and appear convinced by his arguments; and this effect would react upon himself, who is never disposed to underrate his personal influence, and make him believe they were more devoted to him than they really were. Some may also have only pretended to be convinced, waiting their own time of action, because, when those who were combined to upset the Government told him they meant to set him up again upon its ruins, it is hard to believe there was not in such a profession an intention to deceive.

6 P. M.

Since I finished the last sentence, I have heard some further details of what I was then recording; and, late as it is, I must still attempt some account this evening of the state of Paris. All is still uncer-

tainty as to the effect which to-day may have upon the future destinies of the Republic. Throughout this morning processions of workmen have been arriving at the Hôtel-de-Ville from all sides, partly with the professed intention of making a counter-demonstration to that of yesterday, and of demanding the adjournment of the elections, but really with the intention of giving an efficient triumph to M. Ledru-Rollin over his colleagues. I have had, not directly from an official source, but from one in whom I can place reliance, an account of the scene which took place at the Hôtel-de-Ville two days since. M. Ledru-Rollin said to the majority of the Government, "Do you know that your popularity is as nothing compared to mine? I have but to open that window and call upon the people, and you would, every one of you, be turned into the street. Do you wish me to try?" rising and moving towards the window beneath which were assembled crowds. M. Garnier-Pagès, who is a man of great nerve, walked up to him, drew a pistol from his pocket, placed it at Ledru-Rollin's breast, and said, "If you make one step towards that window it shall be your last." Ledru-Rollin looked daggers, paused a moment, and sat down again. One can hardly understand how men could pretend to govern the country in common after such a scene, but some of their colleagues effected a reconciliation, and Ledru-Rollin was, no doubt, by this induced to submit to the castigation

which Lamartine gave to the doctrines of his circular, and also to sign the Manifesto, which pledges the whole Government who signed it to resist, on principle, any unnecessary postponement of the elections.

M. Lamartine considers that the refusal to accede to the protestation of the National Guard yesterday gives a great moral weight to the rejection of the demand of the petitioners of to-day for a postponement of the elections; and he means to take the high line of declaring that the Provisional Government, acting in trust for the whole nation, will not yield to any threatening demonstration from any body of men, however numerous.

Up to this hour I understand that all the Deputations received to-day have been perfectly orderly, though very numerous (amounting to 80,000 or 100,000 men). But the most suspicious circumstance that has come to my knowledge is, that M. Ledru-Rollin, as Minister of Police, stated to his colleagues that he would not be answerable for the peace of the town unless the troops which had been brought in within the last few days were again removed from Paris; and the others, I think weakly, agreed to this measure. Three regiments of infantry and one of cavalry were removed four leagues from Paris this morning. In the meantime there seems an angry spirit towards the National Guard excited amongst those bodies of workmen who have been parading the

streets, and it is possible this may lead to some collision between them in the course of the evening or night; and under such circumstances the confidence of the National Guard would have been somewhat shaken by the scene of yesterday, and by the utter want of any external support from the presence of troops. However, I do not yet myself believe that any great body of the crowds I saw yesterday would combine in a hostile attack upon the National Guard; but I think it right, in these uncertain times, not to disregard the confident opinions of others, though they do not coincide with my own impressions.

March 18.

Last night passed over quietly, and, so far, the anticipations of those who prophesied an immediate collision between the National Guard and the people were falsified; but I am afraid I cannot record this result in any more favourable light than as a reprieve.

The general impression I have derived from the events of the last two days is of the most gloomy description. One can well understand that even the most violent party, and those determined upon pushing matters to extremities, may have preferred, in the first instance, to try the terror that might be inspired by a peaceful demonstration of

the amount of numbers. No doubt a considerable portion of those numbers were not, yesterday, prepared for immediate violence; but they retired with an universal consciousness of their irresistible force. There is every reason to believe that they will again be summoned on the first pretence which offers, and may then again collect in the same numbers; a portion intent on mischief, and the rest, ignorant and half starved, ready to act upon the impulse given.

The language held by two of their leaders, M. Sobrier and M. Cabet (who is a communist), was dictatorial towards the Government; and though the tone of M. Lamartine was upon one point high-spirited and resolute as usual, I am not satisfied that all their demands made should have been left open for future consideration. The most important point, that of the adjournment of the elections, M. Ledru-Rollin says, is to depend upon the reports he may receive from *his commissioners* as to the feeling of the country between this and the 25th instant.

Nothing could show the complete impotence of the Government more than that they were obliged yesterday morning to send away most of the troops they had latterly been collecting in Paris, in order to boast to the mob that they had only 15,000 men here.

One hopes that in a few days the necessity of union for self-preservation may be felt by the

National Guard ; but at this moment they are so completely discouraged and disorganised by the consequences of the faults committed by both sides amongst them latterly, that, for any purposes of discipline, it hardly seems to signify whether the elections take place a few days sooner or later.

The best circumstance which occurred yesterday was the address made in the morning by Ledru-Rollin, from his hotel, upon the subject of the army. There is some idea that he has himself become alarmed at the extremity to which he has been urging affairs.

But there is no denying that within the last two or three days we have been advancing rapidly towards anarchy. In the Convention, and in the Reign of Terror, there was formerly personal insecurity arising from capricious cruelty ; but there was, at any rate, a strong will, which made a Government ; but here there is no confidence in any one, no credit, no employment, no money, no troops, no physical force anywhere but in the masses. The only chance is, that there is still a vestige of moral force in a part of the National Guard and in some members of the Government.

In reading the "Moniteur" of this morning, I observed the account of the reception, at the Hôtel-de-Ville, of a deputation of Irishmen, in which it was stated that a M. Leonard presented to the Provisional Government what he called "le drapeau de l'Irlande," with the expression of a wish

that it might always float by the side of that of their brothers.

I thought it necessary at once to demand a prompt and satisfactory explanation of this fact from Lamartine.

I found a council assembled at the Foreign Office, but I stated that I must either see him then, or have a positive appointment for some other hour during the day.

M. Lamartine then came out to me from the Council, and I told him I was much distressed to have, at such a moment, to make a serious complaint, but I could not delay to call his attention to an announcement in the "Moniteur," which, if not explained, might have very serious consequences. I pointed to the account of the reception of the Irish deputation. He replied he hoped I should have been satisfied with what he had said. I replied that I could not give him that assurance, if his words had been accurately reported, as there was evidently too much of an expression of an opinion on our internal concerns, but that I should not have disturbed him to make any immediate observations upon that: the point on which I wished for explanation was the circumstance of the reception of what was called the Irish flag; that I knew of no such thing as an Irish flag; and that if it was offered to place it by the side of the French colours, it could only be as a rebel flag.

M. Lamartine assured me that he had seen no such flag; that he had paid no attention to any such circumstance; that the Government had accepted no flag; that he had answered the deputation himself, and had not made the slightest allusion to it. I replied that these assurances were only what I should have expected from him, knowing his personal sentiments towards the British Government; but that this announcement had been made in the "Moniteur," which was considered as an official organ, and though I was aware the reports there given are not always accurate, as I had before had occasion to remark to him, unless it was as positively contradicted as it had been asserted, such a statement was likely to create the worst impression in England; and, if repeated, I would not answer for its effect upon the relations between the two countries. M. Lamartine assured me, in the handsomest manner, he would do his best to give me complete satisfaction on the subject. He had before remarked to me, that the report of what he had said was far from correct, and he would endeavour, at the same time, to give a more accurate import to that. Lamartine requested I would allow him to write the paragraph he proposed to insert, in the Council Room, to which he was obliged to return. In a few minutes he came back, and placed it in my hands: it was therefore not arranged between us; if it had been, it might perhaps have been more

full in its explanation on the first point ; but knowing the sincere sentiments by which M. Lamartine was animated in writing it, I did not think it right, at a moment of such extreme embarrassment, to detain him farther by any verbal criticisms.

When I went to Lamartine this morning, about that Irish business, he said to me, "Nous sommes sur un volcan." He seemed, to-day, to think worse of matters than he had ever previously done.

March 20.

It is now two days since I have thought it necessary to make a note. There has been no further threatening demonstration, and, if the Government are firm with reference to the time of the elections, there is still a possibility that they may be fairly conducted. It is, unfortunately, understood to be materially necessary that there should be an adjournment of a few days, in order to make it possible to correct the lists. If this is clearly declared to be granted for no other purpose, then, indeed, there will be no great harm done ; but any appearance of concession to the demand which was made for political purposes will at once drive many of the moderate party in despair from the field.

March 21.

An ex-deputy of the *gauche*, of great weight in that party, and of much general reputation, supposed to be almost the only one amongst his colleagues who had kept up any social civilities with M. Ledru-Rollin, to whom hardly any of the other deputies even bowed, having some business at the Home Office, called on Saturday on M. Ledru-Rollin, who received him with great cordiality, and expressed himself so much pleased with his visit, that this gentleman entered into conversation and told him that he must own he had been much shocked at the tone of his circular, that it appeared to him a Reign of Terror, "moins la guillotine." "Precisely," said M. Ledru-Rollin; "that is what I mean to establish." He then went on to say, that as for the corrupt bourgeoisie, he would have none of them; that he had belonged to them himself, but that they could not bear him, and he could not bear them. What he intended was, that it should be a republic of "*le peuple pur*"; as for the fur caps, he would warm his feet in them. "The fur caps," since the demonstration of the Grenadiers of the National Guard, is a term synonymous with aristocrats. He said, as for the elections, he would never allow them till the country was prepared for the *coup*. "Do

you think I do not know that the country is not Republican? — it must be made so."

This conversation of M. Ledru-Rollin shows that he is confident of his present power, and at the same time that he is not very well qualified to maintain it.

To turn from threatening words to tyrannical acts, there is one financial measure of the Provisional Government which, I am told, will operate most injuriously upon their influence in the provinces. The arbitrary demand for 45 centimes additional upon every franc of direct taxation, to be paid up immediately, will be very much resented by all the millions of small proprietors amongst whom the lands of France are principally divided. There is also a great injustice, though one which will not be so unpopular, in making this impôt in large properties fall upon the landlord, not the farmer, whatever contrary bargains as to the taxes may have existed in letting the land.

Dr. M'Sweeny, the President of the Irish College, called at the Embassy this afternoon to explain the report that the members of that College had formed a part of the deputation which presented an Irish address at the Hôtel-de-Ville on Saturday last. Dr. M'Sweeny wished to state that on Friday he had received some threatening letters from Irishmen now in Paris, to say that if he and his College did not attend the next day they must abide by the consequences. Of this he took no notice. On the Saturday morning the College was sur-

rounded by a crowd of Irish, mostly of the lower classes, and some French, who summoned him and the students to accompany them, stating that, if he refused, the College would be burnt down that night. The President says their demeanour was very threatening, and that his belief was they would execute their menaces. He nevertheless positively refused to join with them. He said that the Institution of which he was the head had nothing whatever to do with politics, and that above all he would not belong to a demonstration which should be gathered under a treasonable emblem ; but in order to pacify them, he stated that a deputation from the College should go up separately to the Provisional Government to thank them for the protection extended to all, and to express their wishes for the prosperity of France. Dr. M'Sweeny says this was all which was contained in the address of the Irish College, with which about forty or fifty students started separately from the other Irish deputation ; that in crossing the bridge towards the quay they fell in with the great body of the workmen's demonstration ; that at first they were taken for Carlists, and being obliged to explain their character, they were then forced to join the general procession ; but that in consequence they never reached the Hôtel-de-Ville at all, and had nothing whatever to do with the Irish Address read there, nor with the green flag which was presented by the person who read that address.

The President is very anxious that it should be known that he strictly confines himself to the discharge of his duty, which is to educate his pupils for the faithful discharge of their sacred calling, and that all politics are directly discouraged within the walls of the College.

March 23.

I thought it desirable to prepare M. Lamartine for some expression of the opinion of England on the subject of the language used in answer to some recent addresses, as I heard that an address had been agreed upon by a public meeting held at Dublin on Monday last, and I did not know how soon the delegates from that meeting might make their appearance in Paris. I therefore sought M. Lamartine this morning, and told him that I had once or twice lately postponed expressing myself as fully as I otherwise should have done on the subject of answers given to English and Irish deputations, because I felt that every moment of his time was necessary to him, from the increasing complication of the internal affairs of the country; therefore, when I had, at some inconvenience to him, sought an explanation as to the fact of the reception by the Government of a *soi-disant* Irish flag, which having been paraded throughout Paris on the day of the great demonstration had produced consider-

able sensation, I had contented myself, on the subject of the observations he made on that occasion, with remarking that I thought he had indulged too much in criticism upon our internal affairs, with which, after all, no foreign country had the slightest concern. Lamartine expressed great regret if anything he had said had given offence, and wished to know to what I referred ; I said, to cite one instance, that he had spoken of the Irish having, by agitation, won their religious liberties, adding, they might by the same means obtain their constitutional liberties ; this would evidently be construed as an opinion upon the Repeal of the Union, which was a question to be decided by the British constitutional authorities, not by the French Provisional Government. Lamartine said he had no intention of making any such allusion ; that he had specially used the term, "constitutional liberties," in order to show that it was only through the regular authority of the British Government they could obtain any change. He had also employed some phrases still more strongly to this effect, which had not been given in the "Moniteur," saying that he could acknowledge no nationality but that which was all united under the Government of the three kingdoms belonging to the Queen of England. I told Lamartine that I had not the slightest doubt that such were his sentiments ; but he would permit me to remark that I thought the great mistake made by him-

self, and still more by some of his colleagues, was, that they confounded what might be admissible criticism, upon foreign countries, in individual members of a legislative assembly, with that which became at once undue interference, if uttered in reply to addresses by a member of an Executive Government; that they amongst them represented, at this moment, as much the whole executive authority of this country, as did the Emperor that of Russia; and, therefore, no country could view such expressions with indifference. Lamartine begged me to recollect that he had once before said the Provisional Government did not, as a body, consider themselves answerable for casual expressions used by an individual member in replying without premeditation to one of the numerous addresses presented; that, in their relations with foreign countries, they were individually and collectively determined to adhere to the principles of the Circular, not to interfere in any respect with the national concerns of other countries. I replied that, as to this disclaimer of collective responsibility for answers given, this might do very well for their internal concerns: it was not for me to pronounce an opinion whether it might therein produce confusion; but that, in answering addresses from foreign deputations, they must recollect that these addresses were sent to the Provisional Government, and the answers given must be taken as the opinion of that Provisional Government; I therefore hoped,

as the continuance of such practices might have considerable effect upon the amicable relations between the two countries, that he would be more careful in future. M. Lamartine said, perhaps in a few days some arrangement might be made for more previous consultation ; but that at this moment any change in their system would appear like weakness. I said I trusted the change would not be made after the mischief had been done. I had come to him this morning because I was aware that there was likely to arrive an address from the most violent section of the Irish Repealers, a step which was repudiated by all the more respectable portion of that party, who were animated by a proper sense of loyalty ; that, therefore, if they received this address at all it would require very great caution to prevent anything being said in reply which could give legitimate cause of offence to the British Government and people. Lamartine promised me, if he had due notice of the arrival of this deputation, to attend to it ; sometimes they came without any previous announcement, and addressed any member of the Provisional Government who might be there. I trusted he would put his colleagues on their guard in this case, and expressed my belief that they would either come to himself or M. Ledru-Rollin. M. Lamartine seemed to think that if M. Ledru-Rollin would undertake to answer them without saying anything that could give offence, perhaps it would be better that he

should do so, otherwise he would take it himself. I said I could pronounce no opinion upon this point, I should only look to the result; but I suggested, as he had once or twice regretted the omission of useful phrases in the "Moniteur," and as it was a Government organ, it would be as well to take care the report there published should be a correct one, as by that he would be judged in foreign countries.

March 24.

After I had seen Lamartine yesterday morning on the subject of the reception of the proposed Irish deputation, I received the morning's newspaper of last Wednesday, in which was given the account of the meeting at the North Wall, Dublin, and also that which took place the same day at the Repeal Association. I thought it best to enclose this paper to M. Lamartine in a private note, in order that he might not be taken unawares as to the nature of the address, and I felt no objection to his having his attention called, at the same time, to the loyal sentiments expressed at the Repeal Association, and to the manner in which all idea of foreign interference in their concerns was repudiated by that portion of the Repeal party.

Having occasion to see Lamartine this morning on other matters, I again impressed upon him the

necessity of abstaining from giving the slightest encouragement to such deputations. He assured me he quite felt this since he had read the papers, and that he meant, if the deputation came, to be very firm, and to answer them himself, saying that the Government had not only professed the principle of not interfering in the internal affairs of other countries, but they meant to adhere to it in every form, not only in acts beyond the frontier, but in words at home; that if they knew no nationalities but those which were established, still less would they enter into any internal divisions between different parts of a friendly country; they could pronounce no opinion upon such subjects, and could only wish for Ireland the same prosperity as they desired for every other portion of the British dominions.

Such was the language which Lamartine has just assured me he meant to hold to the Irish deputation.

I have had some further representations, within the last few days, both as to the danger and distress of English workmen in different parts of France, and also as to the increased opposition given in some parts on the northern coast to the exportation of cattle for England.

At St. Malo there had been, as reported by M. Turnbull, considerable violence shown in resisting the embarkation of cattle in English ves-

sels. As M. Turnbull, who had gone over there himself from Granville, did not seem satisfied with the amount of assistance he had received from the commissaries of the Government, I made a representation to M. Lamartine on the subject, who promised that more rigorous instructions should be at once sent down. M. Turnbull mentions that the great desire in that part of the country is, that an arbitrary duty should at once be put upon the exportation of cattle, in order to prevent the necessity of resisting it by other means, and he stated that some of the authorities there seemed to think such a plan desirable. I alluded to this to M. Lamartine, as a measure which of course the Government would not take under such dictation; I have also heard very bad accounts, from the neighbourhood of Rouen, of the state of English workmen: many who have been discharged still await the fulfilment of the promise to restore them their advances to the Savings' Bank. I have twice remonstrated with M. Lamartine about this delay, since I have received M. Featherstonehaugh's letter; M. Lamartine wrote in pressing terms to the Minister of Finance on the subject whilst I was there, and this morning he assured me that he hoped a few hours more would settle the matter. I have this day had a piteous appeal in behalf of a number of English, fearfully destitute, discharged from the Dieppe Railway, and who are endeavouring to reach Havre. I have, of

course, myself given some assistance to these poor people, but anything an individual can do, must be but a trifling alleviation of their sufferings.

I had to-day some further conversation with Lamartine on the subject of the meditated incursion of the Association of Democratic Germans into the Grand Duchy of Baden, and he told me that yesterday several applications had been made to him by Germans and others to facilitate their return, *en masse*, to their own country, with the intention of propagating the political opinions of the French Republic; that he had positively refused to listen to any such proposition, and had told them that he meant the assurance of the French Government as to non-interference in the affairs of other countries to be a practical truth, and not a pretext for deception; and that the Government would not allow others to do from hence that which they disclaim any intention of doing themselves. He added that he understood to-morrow was to be marked by threatening demonstrations of different bodies of foreigners, at present residing in France, at the Hôtel-de-Ville, all making the same demand, and that this was intended against himself; but that he meant to hold precisely the same language as he had repeated to me, and not to give way in the smallest degree. He would not object to the distressed workmen of other countries returning home, as indeed they were a great embarrassment here, but they must

neither go armed nor in disciplined bodies. Such are, I have no doubt, M. Lamartine's pacific intentions, and he will not allow them to be openly violated as long as he continues in his present post; but I must own my belief that all his colleagues do not share his earnest desire to maintain the peace of Europe. In a government ruling without physical force, I do not see how it is possible for Lamartine to ensure the success of his preventive measures if some of those possessing equal power with himself, and more opportunity of directly influencing these proceedings, determine in an underhand manner to thwart him. I am obliged, unwillingly, to confess that though the events of the last week seem to have destroyed the possibility of any great coalition of absolute power against France, the course this country is now impelled to follow by the least respectable portion of the population makes me feel how difficult it may be, notwithstanding all the prudent counsels we may give, and all the forbearance we may ourselves show, to preserve for any length of time the peace of Europe.

March 25.

So long as the Provisional Government assumes they have the abstract right, though invested with

executive power, to discuss with discontented foreigners all complaints against their Government, one can have no effective control over language; and I again reverted with M. Lamartine to the very natural feeling of the inconvenience and impropriety of replies to foreign deputations, containing any opinion upon the internal concerns of those foreign countries. M. Lamartine begged to repeat to me that it had been peculiarly unfortunate, on that day there had been the great demonstration of the working classes, which had required perpetual speaking for many hours at the Hôtel-de-Ville; that what he had said to the Irish Deputation was most incorrectly reported, and that he was much dissatisfied when he saw it in print, as his impression when he had delivered it had been, that the sentiments he had expressed were such as the British Government themselves might have heard with approbation.

This was doubtless M. Lamartine's sincere feeling; but, as I have before remarked, M. Lamartine has as yet, to a great extent, shared the error of his colleagues in believing that the impropriety consisted in the comparative want of moderation of the language in which opinions were conveyed, and not in the mere fact of an executive Government pronouncing any opinion at all upon the internal concerns of other countries. I think I have now made M. Lamartine sufficiently sensible that this is the substantial ground of my complaint, and,

by repeated representations on the subject, I have impressed upon him the importance to international relations; that in this particular instance of the approaching Irish deputation, considering its objectionable character, he should be most cautious in his answer, and make as clear as possible his disclaimer of the intention of pronouncing any opinion upon the political questions which may concern different portions of the British Empire. And indeed it would seem as if they themselves were likely to feel a direct interest that the opinions of one portion of a country should not be sustained when opposed to that of the Central Government. There are some new incidents to-day, as announced in the accounts from the provinces, which are worthy of observation. At Bordeaux, M. —, who had originally been appointed Commissaire for that department, was thought by M. Ledru-Rollin to be too moderate in his opinions, was superseded by M. Lestrade. But first the merchants protested against this change, and then the great mass of the citizens rose and made an attack upon the Prefecture, from which M. Lestrade was obliged to fly for safety.

Considering that, throughout, Bordeaux has been hostile to the Republic, this demonstration would appear very significant; but the Bordelais are not said to be a very warlike population. I asked M. Lamartine what he thought of this event, and he treated it merely as a demonstration against

the Circular, giving such unlimited power to the Commissaires.

At Lyons, M. Arago, the brother of the Minister of Marine, who is the Government Commissaire, has excited general indignation, and may most probably provoke active opposition by attempting arbitrary confiscations upon the population, which would seem to require to be backed by a hostile invading army.

Already two or three of the departments in the south-west, which have driven away their Commissaires, have come to an understanding together as to the nature of their resistance, and it is not impossible this may begin by refusing to pay the new taxes. In many places they begin to say, "Supposing *they were* to march against us, *who* is to march? They have no army, or National Guards, and as to their 'Mobiles,' we can make 'Mobiles' too." The worst of any such demonstration in the provinces is, that no doubt it would give the upper hand to the violent party here, who might proceed to extremities against some of those in their power, in order to show what the Reign of Terror might be; because in the country they begin to feel, for terror to have a reign, we must consent to be afraid; and with no invincible force against us, why should we? All depends upon the spirit and temper of the lower classes in different parts of the country, and the

accounts are so various upon this point, that I cannot as yet form an opinion.

Several other indications have been given of the discontent of the provinces, which may influence the result of the election ; whilst, on the other hand, the worst symptom I have yet seen is, that most of the Clubs have required from the candidates, for commands in the National Guard, a declaration that, in the event of a difference of opinion between the Assembly and what they call the people, they will side with the people. This would prevent the possibility of any settled Government, as power would be transferred from the Tribune of the Chambers to that of the Clubs.

I mentioned to M. Lamartine that I anticipated the worst consequences from such a line being taken at the National Guards' Election. He assured me he did not believe this feeling extended far, and did not expect that persons so pledged would be elected. One man's speculation must, however, be as good as another's as to what *will be*, when the opinions of thirty-five millions are about to be taken upon the future Government, at a moment when there exists no regret for the past, neither satisfaction nor confidence in the present, and yet no other object for the future.

A deputation of directors and shareholders of the Orleans and Bordeaux Railway called on me yesterday, to represent that it was understood to be

the immediate intention of the Government to seize upon their property in the name of the nation, giving them an arbitrary price which would partake very much of the character of spoliation. They represented this as part of a general plan to increase the national resources from the proceeds of the railways, without a proper regard for existing engagements. I had previously had a similar alarm expressed to me on the behalf of the Havre and Rouen Railway.

The gentlemen connected with the Orleans and Bordeaux assured me that considerably more than the moiety of the capital of these undertakings had been furnished by English funds. I explained to them that it was impossible for me to interfere in this matter, as, if it were a national concern, that in exporting capital for a foreign enterprise, they of course partook of all the risks of the other shareholders belonging to that foreign country; but I had no objection to state their case unofficially to M. Lamartine, and to impress upon him that any violation of the terms on which they had been induced to advance the money, would have the worst effect in commercial circles. I treated the matter with Lamartine this morning merely in general terms, and took this occasion to remark to him that he knew how desirous I had been for the confirmation of the most amicable relations between the two countries, notwithstanding the political changes which had taken place; that since the

first admiration which had been excited in England at the manner in which order had been restored, and the moderation with which the great body of the people had used their victory, it would be unwise to conceal from him that many incidents had occurred to produce an unpleasant reaction in the public mind. In the first place, those riots in some English counties, insignificant as they were, yet having been scattered about in many different towns, had made an impression on the middle classes that the evil example given in France had disturbed the quiet and comfort to which they attached so just a value. Then the unjustifiable conduct pursued in many places towards the English labourers, originally induced by promises to come over here, had very much indisposed the working classes; and if, by their treatment of the railways, they now created the impression that national faith was no guarantee against spoliation, they would excite such an outcry amongst the English capitalists as must affect the intimacy of the relations between the two countries. Lamartine assured me he had not been insensible to the difficulties created by some of the circumstances to which I had alluded: but, as to the project with reference to the railway, he said distinctly that whatever might have been contemplated was postponed for the present. The Government were not at all desirous of incurring such a responsibility, and, in conclusion, he pro-

mised me that if anything was again under discussion, I should have an opportunity of stating the case of those gentlemen before anything was decided; with which assurance, I believe, all the parties interested are satisfied.

CHAP. VII.

SUFFERINGS OF ENGLISH WORKMEN ON THE DIEPPE AND ROUEN RAILWAY.—PETITION FROM NORMANDY.—M. LAMARTINE AND THE FOREIGN DEPUTATIONS.—ELECTIONS FOR THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.—DEPUTATION OF POLES.—ASSURANCES OF LAMARTINE RESPECTING THE IRISH DEPUTATION.—MOB LAW IN THE PROVINCES.—POLITICAL PROCESSIONS AND TREES OF LIBERTY.—SMITH O'BRIEN AND MEAGHER.—ASPECT OF PARIS AND THE PARISIANS.—SCENE AT THE THÉÂTRE FRANÇAIS.—SALON OF THE COUNT MOLÉ.—CONVERSATION WITH M. LAMARTINE RESPECTING THE BELGIAN DEMOCRATS.—UNITED IRISHMEN AND SMITH O'BRIEN.—L'ARMÉE DES ALPES.—ADDRESS OF THE IRISH DEPUTATION AND M. LAMARTINE'S REPLY.—ILL-FEELING OF MOST OF THE REPUBLICANS TOWARDS ENGLAND.—REMARKS ON THE IRISH ADDRESS AND ON LAMARTINE'S ANSWER.

March 26.

THE French gentleman acting for the British Vice-Consul at Rouen, returned to me to-day, and states that the Directors of the Rouen and Havre Railway, would, upon an application from me, be inclined to give a free passage to Havre to the poor English who had been discharged from the Dieppe and Rouen Railway; this application I have of course immediately made. These unfortunate persons are said to be nearly two hundred in number, including many women and children, and to be starving by the roadside without the possi-

bility of reaching a port for embarkation, from which they are thirty or forty miles distant. It does not appear that in this instance there was any injustice or cruelty, the railroad works having been now for some time stopped for want of funds, and all workmen having been alike discharged. The Vice-Consul tells me that, beyond the obvious loss of final ejection from a profitable employment, he believes there was considerable exaggeration in the statement of the losses sustained by the English workmen driven away from the neighbourhood of Rouen. He adds, that the authorities in his neighbourhood are now exerting themselves to the utmost to protect the English workmen, and that he has not latterly observed any bad disposition towards them on the part of the French.

I should add that this testimony is at least important on the part of this gentleman, as he seems a decided opponent to the political changes which have taken place in this country.

March 26.

I have heard it is the intention of the Province of Normandy to present petitions to the Provisional Government, demanding that the place of the meeting of the National Assembly should not be Paris, as, if so, it is impossible that its deliberations should be free. It is said that similar petitions

are likely to come from other provinces. Such a step will require to be very well considered beforehand, and should never be attempted unless its supporters are imposing in point of numbers and character, as, of course, the very circumstance which renders it advisable would prevent any Provisional Government, sitting in Paris, from acceding to it; it must therefore be the beginning of a conflict which those who provoke should be well prepared to pursue to its result.

I was not able to see M. Lamartine again this morning before he went to the Hôtel-de-Ville. Not being very well, he was not visible as early as usual, and, just before his departure for the Hôtel-de-Ville, he expected some persons with him whom he wished to prepare for the line he was going to take with reference to the foreign deputations: knowing that some of those who watch him are ready to say that I have too much influence with him, I am ever anxious, for his sake, not to put myself too forward at these moments. I never knew a race that required such nice riding, between urging them too much, or letting them have too much their own way; and the least fault would, I know, be equally resented in England, if one either unnecessarily laid a ground for quarrel, or seemed to compromise the national dignity by submission.

In the meantime, there are some wondrous stories circulated in England. We are bad enough here,

but not as bad as we are made out. It is true the *State* has no coachman who can drive, but we do not, therefore, fire at state-coachmen or English ladies' hammercloths.*

I saw the Prince de Ligne last night, who seemed very uneasy at the last reports he had received as to the Belgian democrats who had left Paris, by different trains during the last four-and-twenty hours, five hundred at a time. The Prince de Ligne had heard that some detachments expected to receive arms at Lille. It was also stated that their passage by the railroad had been paid by an employé from the Ministry of the Interior, and that they were accompanied by some of the École Polytechnique in plain clothes. The Prince said that all this was completely at variance with the assurances he had received from M. Lamartine, to the effect that the Government would not indirectly countenance that which they had publicly disclaimed, and would do all in their power to prevent any underhand attempts of this kind. The Prince asked my opinion what course he should take under the circumstances, whether he should write an official note, or communicate personally with M. Lamartine. I advised him to show, in the first instance, the most complete confidence in M. Lamartine's assurances; and it was agreed between us that the Prince should go to

* Stories which went the round of the newspapers.

M. Lamartine, should mention the reports he had heard, but which he could not believe, as the opinions he had so recently expressed he had immediately conveyed to his Government, and should read to him the despatch in which he had reported these assurances, showing that he held him responsible for their fulfilment.

I have not seen the Prince de Ligne this morning, and I have heard, from very good authority, of the signal failure of the first division of the Belgian Expedition. It appears they were allowed to pass the frontier without question, and upon arriving at the first Belgian station, they drew up between double files of Belgian infantry, who guarded them, with fixed bayonets, at the windows of the railway-carriages, till the morning, when the Belgian invaders were marched off to a neighbouring fortress, and the French over the frontier. It appears that the patriotic band considered that their free passage comprised free commons upon the French people, and that they completely cleared and carried away every article from the buffets at Creil and Douai.

March 27.

The "Moniteur" of this morning announces that the elections for the National Assembly have been postponed from the 9th to the 23rd of April. This delay is only a few days longer than was, I believe,

absolutely necessary for the completion of the arrangements ; but it will, nevertheless, give dissatisfaction in many of the provinces, and be attributed to other motives. It is a curious circumstance, showing the political excitement does not extend so far amongst the lower classes as the agitators would, for their own purposes, pretend, that whilst it is calculated that there are about four hundred thousand voting men in Paris, there are, up to this, the last morning for enrolment in the electoral list, only about four-and-twenty thousand who have come forward to give in their names : great efforts are making to-day, by placards in the streets, to increase the number, but without much success as yet.

The "Moniteur" of this morning contains the answer given yesterday by M. Lamartine to the deputation of Poles who had come to the Hôtel-de-Ville to demand assistance and arms to return to their own country.

The position of the Provisional Government was more difficult upon this than any other question of foreign policy, from the absurd line taken by their predecessors. In every address at the opening of the session, since the Revolution of July, there has been inserted a paragraph expressing the wishes of the Legislature for the restored nationality of Poland.* Therefore it was impossible that a young

* I remember when I was first presented to Louis-Philippe,

republic could express less sympathy than the successive governments of Louis-Philippe. Upon the main point — that of the positive refusal of the Provisional Government to give either aid or encouragement to any such expedition into a country with the Government of which they are at peace — the language of M. Lamartine was bold and clear ; and though, under a more regular Government, one would have had great reason to complain of the allusions on the part of a Foreign Minister to what was passing, without their interference, in other parts ; yet, considering the feeling that has always existed in France on the subject of Poland, much management was required to soften down a refusal which was not without considerable danger to the Government.

March 28.

M. Lamartine again assured me this morning that the Irish Deputation should not have it in their power to boast of any encouragement from him. He would take care that no one else should address them at the Hôtel-de-Ville, and, in con-

in 1843, not being then in any official capacity, he alluded to the Pritchard affair, at that time pending, and said, that if the Chamber passed a vote on the subject, he should put it into his bureau, next pigeon-hole to the Poles.

sequence of what he had since heard from me, his language should be even more strong and decided than that which he had announced his intention to hold. M. Lamartine remarked that he had not seen me since his reception of the Poles; that he hoped he had then shown that he kept to the assurances he had given me; that his refusal of their demand was very positive, though there were 60,000 of them in France, mostly desperate fellows, who had threatened the day before to upset the Government, if they were not satisfied. The present case with which he had to deal was very different. I added that, as he had alluded to that circumstance, he would be surprised, perhaps, to learn that those two persons who would come here to announce themselves as slaves were, in every respect, as free as I was myself, and living under precisely the same laws. One was a member of Parliament for a county where his family had much influence from property. The other had, I believed, just been a candidate for a popular constituency, and had not been returned because his principles were not approved of. The tyranny of which they complained was, that their wishes were not treated as superior to the decisions of Parliament. As to the repeal, which was the pretence of their agitation, they were, upon that, opposed not merely by the majority of the Imperial Parliament, but by the majority even of the representatives from their own portion of the United

Kingdom. Still, though this was the case, misguided men might be provoked into attempts which could only end in their own destruction, incited as they were by such incendiaries as those who were seeking encouragement from France. M. Lamartine used some civil expressions, as to his being more ready, from recollections of the past, to take *my* opinion upon the real state of Ireland than theirs, and repeated his determination to show their deputation that these were questions upon which the French Government could take no part, and would pronounce no opinion.

Uneasiness spreads and increases every day: no one seems now to look forward with the slightest hope of a satisfactory *dénouement*. Lamartine is certainly less confident of his Government lasting till the National Assembly, though he says that the country is for a moderate Republic; and, if he is upset, it will only make the great majority of the people more decidedly pronounce itself in that sense. There was to have been a demonstration against him, and on behalf of the Poles to-day, but it is postponed. The Irish are arrived; their not presenting their address at once is not a good sign. It shows they have other business here, or that they are waiting to be better received after the overthrow of Lamartine, of which there was a vague expectation yesterday. There is fighting at Lyons. At Rouen, the mob released a prisoner confined for incendiарism; in short, mobs do whatever they like.

March 30.

I understand M. Lamartine summoned a special meeting of the Provisional Government this morning, in order to call their serious attention to the number of processions which had disturbed the town during the last two or three days and nights. The ostensible object of these assemblages has been to plant trees of Liberty in different parts of the town; but it has led, amongst other evils, to frequent demands for money. M. Lamartine intends to propose that a strong ordonnance should be published, forbidding the continuance of these proceedings, exposing their folly, and the mischief they have caused in reviving all the fears of the first days of the Revolution. He means further to propose that the members of the Provisional Government, and the superior officers of the National Guard, should personally interpose to prevent these demonstrations.

It is possible that such incidents, or a little extra excitement at the Clubs, may any day bring on a collision between the majority of the Provisional Government and that minority of its members which is supposed to be backed by the more violent advocates of the Republic. Still, unless hastened by accidental circumstances, my own impression is, that the contest will be after the election of the officers of the National Guard,

next week: and however that may terminate, I do not see much probability of its being longer avoided. Should the choice of the majority fall upon the men who are pledged by the Clubs of Paris to stand by them, and to march when called on by the people, against any moderate majority in the Assembly, in case of a difference of opinion, I think then the patience of the provinces would be exhausted, and they would petition to have the meeting of the Assembly removed from Paris, and, in case of refusal, would withhold payment of the taxes. If, on the other hand, the elections of the National Guard go in favour of the moderate candidates, then, probably before that body could be organised, the Clubs and their armed adherents would make a desperate attempt to seize the Government, and reign a short time by terror.

March 31.

M. Lamartine mentioned to me this morning, that he had settled to receive the Irish Deputation on Monday next; he had already seen Mr. O'Brien, and he had told him distinctly that he and his friends must not expect the slightest support, or encouragement of any kind, from the French Government. M. Lamartine again repeated to me

the substance of the answer he meant to make to them. "That the French Government was on terms of perfect amity with England ; that it desired to continue so, and therefore to deserve it ; that the general rule not to interfere in any way with the internal concerns of other countries was here peculiarly applicable ; that, if France abstained from meddling with international affairs with which she had no business, still more would she decline to do so between any two parties in one country, and would refuse to pronounce any opinion upon their disputes ; that, at the same time, the wishes he had for the prosperity of the British nation, extended, in like degree, to Ireland."

Such, M. Lamartine assured me, was the nature of the reply the Irish Deputation would receive from him. It does not seem that this same deputation agree very well amongst themselves ; the assumed superiority of Smith O'Brien offends the others, and they have put up at different hotels. From what I have heard, Meagher and the younger ones are disappointed at everything they find here. Not so much enthusiasm about themselves, or even about the Republic, as they had hoped and expected. They were also rather disgusted at much they heard at the Clubs to which they went last night.

April 1.

ON looking back through the entries made in this Journal during the last month, I find that, with the exception of some days of marked incident, the records consist principally of conversations with M. Lamartine as to the aspect of public affairs, the intentions of the Government, and the precautions taken to preserve peace. This, to a certain extent, naturally results from the peculiar position in which I am placed. Without instructions, because for the moment necessarily without diplomatic character, dealing with a Government which avoids anything beyond verbal assurances, while it has to bring its somewhat divergent views to bear upon the varying difficulties of the day, I can have no security beyond the confidence I, without hesitation, place in M. Lamartine's word—that any assurance he may give in answer to an inquiry will be rigidly observed. This, of course, does not extend to his speculations, or to the march of events as guided by others; on such points, I have no faith in his infallibility. But the knowledge of how much depends upon my accurately assuring myself, and preserving the precise terms of his promises, has induced me,

beyond the information in due course forwarded homewards, to retain in my own hands for constant reference an accurate report of all that I have heard from him,—no unwelcome task to study such a record, for no one expresses himself better on all such occasions than M. Lamartine. But it should not therefore appear as if I merely vibrated between 39. Rue St. Honoré and the Boulevard des Capucins, collecting at the one what I carried home to record at the other. The fact is directly the reverse; I so constantly seek in other quarters, and from different sources, the more vague and varying impressions of the day, that I often do not leave myself the material time to record them. Frequently within the last three weeks have I strolled on foot into the populous and distant faubourgs, following with an observant eye, at a little distance, some of those strange processions carrying bare sickly poplars to plant in some most inappropriate spot as trees of Liberty; the Curé being required to attend with his blessing, apparently to guard against open ridicule of that which was so purely absurd. The servants of the church in gold-laced liveries, with cocked hats and silk stockings, half lacqueys half beadle, were the objects of intense admiration of the ragged crowd of attendant *gamins*, who would have mobbed them had they been seen behind a carriage. Often have I heard the contemptuous murmur of the poor bourgeois watching the pro-

cession from the threshold of his shop-door, where no customer had passed for weeks, and from the running comment he has made upon the whole proceeding to his helpmate, sitting in persevering inaction behind her deserted counter, I have been inclined to believe that disgust at all this innumery will be a potent element in the coming reaction. On other days, leaving these luckless poplars to be buried in their urban graves, I have sought trees where nature meant they should grow, and making, as usual, the Bois de Boulogne the object of an exhilarating gallop, have left behind all traces of the Revolution; have found that the primroses and early green underwood have not been postponed with the elections, and that even in 1848 the young spring sun in Paris can have an effect upon the spirits unknown to those who only see him through a few square miles of smoke, caked and condensed by the east wind. The banks of the Seine between Neuilly and St. Cloud are as smiling as ever, though royalty has abandoned both, and the smouldering ruins of Suresnes intervene between the two. Returning by the Arc de Triomphe, the first reminder is the Brigade of the Ateliers Nationaux, employed in defacing the right-hand bank leading down into the Champs Elysées. Amidst a strange collection of unpractised hands, till now ignorant of the use of a spade, may perhaps be seen some journeyman coach-painter, or worker in jewels, a shabby-genteel demagogue,

the triumph of whose principles has ruined his handicraft, who just scraping the sod with much the air of the fine gentleman in Hogarth, beating hemp, turns his head, scowling with an evil eye upon any one who sees him in his present fallen position,—one so necessary to keep body and soul together, but unworthy his Utopian aspirations.

At night I have visited the popular theatres in the distant boulevards, and, descending the common stair with a mixed crowd, unknown to most, but recognised by some, I have always met that courteous bearing which is the characteristic of the lower classes in Paris when not excited. The Sovereign People felt themselves at home, and civilly made way for the stranger, though he might be open to the objection of being also an "Aristo." Upon one occasion we made a party to go to a quiet private box at the Théâtre Français, nearly opposite to that where the Provisional Government sat in state. They had had decorated for them the large box on the contrary side of the house from that where the royal box everywhere is placed, preferring to cling to the *côté gauche* even in a theatre. Lamartine was not there, nor Arago, nor Dupont de l'Eure. I am not sure whether Marast was, but the prominent figures were Ledru-Rollin, Crémieux, Flocon, and Albert, *ouvrier*. The play was the tragedy of "Lucrèce," the heroine personified by Rachel, not in any respect a very appropriate *pièce de circonstance*, except that

it commemorated a successful revolution. But the event of the evening was the "Marscillaise" (*sung?*) by Rachel. It was the triumph of superabundant energy, really producing an irresistibly thrilling effect, though one shared the sentiments, forcibly articulated rather than melodised, as little as the gifted artist herself, and I believe one cannot state the case more strongly. There could exist no one less likely sincerely to celebrate a revolution, which must have been most opposed to all her social sympathies, and most damaging to her professional career. When one heard her, as it was called, sing the "Marseillaise," one was the more surprised to recollect that her brilliant career had commenced as a ballad-singer in the streets,—a fact which, to all who had the pleasure of her acquaintance in the days of her early triumph, she stated without either reserve or affectation; but which this musical exhibition would assuredly not have suggested.

On other evenings I have frequented the social circles which in the worst times were found assembled in the dark green salon of Count Molé, to which were occasionally added a few private or political associates. The Count's weekly salon, in the Parisian acceptation of the word salon, had been closed, *de facto*, by the Revolution, but it was still frequented each evening by a few attached and intimate friends, anxious to talk over the events of the day and the prospects of the morrow. The

establishment, decorous and patriarchal as usual, the reception, as wont, courteous and cordial ; every thing is there discussed without exaggeration or passion, with such a practical good sense and calm of resignation, that it might often be a philosophical review of the events of another country and another age. Sometimes, indeed, the actual presence of danger, the imminent risk of anarchy, was made painfully evident when an anxious group of listening ladies was collected round the military figure of the Marquis de la Ferté, private in the National Guards, in his uniform with the red worsted epaulettes. On one occasion he was heard reporting from a neighbouring meeting of the First Legion at the Cirque in the Elysées, that an attempt was made to induce the candidates for the forthcoming election of officers, to declare they would march against the National Assembly if it would not obey what the Clubs call the People. M. Molé from the first was anxious to direct his own attention, and to guide others who sought his advice, to the best practical mode of alleviating the inevitable evils of the situation. He has evidently the feeling of discouragement natural to his age and his peculiarly sad experience ; but this is not what he seeks to communicate to others : his desire is that every one should exert himself for the best. Once or twice, in the first days of the Revolution, he has said to me, "Encore un seul pas et nous sommes en plein quatre-vingt-treize." Ninety-three is not to M. Molé

a vague though frightful tradition. It was to him overflowing with the worst reality. In that year his father and mother both perished on the scaffold, and he himself, a youth of about fifteen, wandered alone and unprotected about the streets. The future statesman, who during his long and distinguished career was remarkable for his social charm, his distinguished manners, his refined habits and cultivated tastes, struggled into manhood dependent for many months for existence upon the casual charity of one of the worst parts of Paris; till, recognised and rescued, he was consigned to the care of a relation in the country.

One of the most remarkable characteristics of Count Molé is, that through the whole of his chequered career, love of his country may be traced, as struggling triumphantly, through natural prejudices, against personal predilections, and amidst constant disappointment. He is, in the best acceptation of the term, above all things, a Frenchman.

I again called Lamartine's attention confidentially to those late demonstrations of the Belgian democrats, and reverted to the subject this morning. Lamartine said he was very glad to avail himself of any occasion to repeat assurances of his anxiety to avoid anything which could possibly lead to a misunderstanding between England and France. He pledged his own honour and that of the Provisional Government that they were quite irresponsible upon the subject of these expeditions;

that they had no connivance with their objects. The Prince de Ligne, he said, had wished the Belgian workmen out of employment to return to their own country, and by private charity, to which the Prince had himself contributed, means had been taken for this purpose; but, as to the perversion of that object into an aggressive expedition, the Provisional Government knew nothing. The Commissaire at Valenciennes, though a person of very ultra opinions, had given notice to the Belgian Government of the arrival of the convoy, and had recommended their being transferred to Belgian carriages. This enabled the Belgian authorities to be prepared. The second convoy had, in consequence, declined to continue the same route, and wandered about in the neighbourhood of Lille; they had endeavoured to persuade General Négrier, in command there, to give them some assistance, which he had refused. M. Lamartine added, that he was entirely ignorant where they got the arms, whether from some society in Paris, or from some Belgian republicans, but it certainly was not from any Government dépôt. He again alluded to the utter absence at present of any physical force on the part of the Provisional Government for the purpose of repressing these proceedings. In a short time he hoped that something more efficient might be organised; but they could only trust to their moral influence, and point to the sincerity of their efforts over all whom they could command.

I have just received the copy of an address presented to Mr. Smith O'Brien and his companions by the Club of United Irishmen residing in Paris, with that gentleman's answer to the address.

These United Irishmen, I understand, are persons of no social respectability; their chief, Mr. Leonard, who presented the address, is settled at Sens, and is the person who paraded the green flag through the streets of Paris at the last demonstration. Mr. Smith O'Brien states himself to have ascertained that, in case of a demand from Ireland, France would be ready to send over 50,000 of her bravest citizens to fight for her. If there were any regular Government here, such a declaration must lead to inquiries which would have international consequences; but, objectionable as is the habit of members of the Government receiving foreign deputations, and giving public answers to their addresses, this very practice will probably, in this instance show, within a few hours, that Mr. Smith O'Brien has not derived his disloyal expectations from any official organ.

April 3.

I have been reading a General Order of the Commandant at Lyons, in which he names the different corps that are to compose what he calls the first division of l'Armée des Alpes, intended, as soon as formed, to march upon the frontier. It is worthy of remark, that three of these regiments had the day before fraternised with the mob of Lyons, broken into the General's house, and insisted upon the release of an artillery-sergeant, who had been sent under arrest to Grenoble for some breach of discipline. The General had refused to yield to their demands, but shortly received an order from M. Arago, the Commissary of the Government, commanding him to comply; and it was with this liberated sergeant, haranguing the mob from the Hôtel-de-Ville, that the General issued the orders for the formation of this army.

April 4.

Here is the address of the Irish Deputation, and Lamartine's reply, as given in the "Moniteur" of this morning:—

M. O'Brien, membre du Parlement anglais, a lu d'abord l'adresse suivante:—

“ Permettez-nous d'offrir les félicitations qu'un peuple asservi peut adresser, sans reproche, à une nation qui vient de conquérir noblement sa liberté.

“ Nous vous félicitons de la chute d'une tyrannie fondée par l'artifice le plus consommé, mais qui est tombé dans un instant devant l'enthousiasme chevaleresque de votre nation.

“ Nous ne savons si nous devons le plus admirer votre courage pendant la lutte ou votre sublime modération après la victoire.

“ Vous avez su respecter la religion, et Dieu a bénî votre œuvre.

“ Par votre héroïsme vous avez enseigné aux nations opprimées que la liberté ne manque jamais à ceux qui hasardent tout pour l'obtenir.

“ Par votre maintien rigoureux de l'ordre publique vous avez démontré que la vraie liberté n'a rien de commun avec l'anarchie.

“ Nous vous saluons comme arbitres des destinées futures du genre humain, comme libérateurs des nations asservies.

“ Nous à qui la nationalité a été ravie par les moyens les plus infâmes, nous qui, sans relâche, sentons tous les maux qui résultent de cette perte inexprimable, nous, peuple irlandais, nous demandons votre sympathie.

“ L'Irlande a déclaré qu'une fois encore cet ancien royaume deviendra libre et indépendant.

“ A votre exemple, nous n'abandonnerons pas les

voies de la constitution avant d'en avoir épuisé toutes les ressources.

“ Nous laissons à l'avenir à développer nos projets, mais nous ne devons pas manquer de vous dire que votre amitié franche et loyale peut beaucoup contribuer à les rendre efficaces, peut en avancer le succès.

“ Nos droits et votre fraternité reposent sur les traditions les plus héroïques de votre histoire.

“ Dans les temps passés, au moment de l'infortune la plus extrême de l'Irlande, vos pères ont accueilli avec hospitalité nos guerriers exilés ; et les champs de Fontenoy peuvent dire comment cette hospitalité a été acquittée par l'effusion du sang irlandais, coulant pour soutenir la gloire de la France.

“ Pour nous-mêmes, aussi bien que pour vous, nous suivrons avec une sollicitude extrême le développement de votre naissante République.

“ Nous trouvons dans votre intention de fonder vos institutions sur les bases les plus larges un augure heureux de votre destinée future. Vous faites bien de ne plus les poser sur des classes privilégiées, mais sur la nation française toute entière.

“ Consolidez l'œuvre que vous avez commencée, conservez les droits de la prospérité par la conservation des droits de l'industrie. Ne vous abandonnez pas aux impulsions dangereuses qu'engendrent l'amour de la gloire et le désir de la conquête, mais soyez toujours prêts à secourir les

opprimés. Faites de la France le centre, non pas seulement de la civilisation et des arts, mais aussi de la liberté universelle. Continuez de donner au monde l'exemple magnanime de vos mœurs vertus, et soyez assurés que, parmi ceux qui vous feront l'hommage de leur admiration, vous ne trouverez pas d'allié plus affectionné que la nation irlandaise."

Le Citoyen Lamartine a répondu :—

" Citoyens de l'Irlande, de Dublin, de Manchester, et de Liverpool !

" S'il nous fallait une autre preuve de l'influence pacifique de la proclamation du grand principe démocratique, ce christianisme nouveau éclatant à l'heure opportune et séparant le monde, comme autrefois, en monde païen et en monde chrétien, nous la trouverions cette preuve de l'action toute puissante d'une idée dans ces visites que les nations ou les fractions de nations viennent rendre spontanément ici à la France républicaine et à son principe !

" Nous ne sommes pas étonnés d'y voir aujourd'hui une partie de l'Irlande. L'Irlande sait combien ses destinées, ses souffrances et ses progrès successifs en liberté religieuse, en unité et en égalité constitutionnelle avec les autres parties du Royaume-uni ont ému de tout temps le cœur de l'Europe ! Nous le disions, il y a peu de jours, à

une autre députation de vos concitoyens, nous le dirons à tous les enfants de cette glorieuse île d'*Erin* qui, par le génie naturel de ses habitants, comme par les péripéties de son histoire, est à la fois la poésie et l'héroïsme des nations du Nord.

“ Sachez donc bien que vous trouvez en France, sous la République, tous les sentiments que vous lui apportez ! Dites à vos concitoyens que le nom de l'Irlande et le nom de la liberté courageusement défendue contre le privilége est un même nom pour tout citoyen français. Dites-leur que cette réciprocité qu'ils invoquent, que cette hospitalité dont ils se souviennent, la République sera glorieuse de s'en souvenir et de les pratiquer toujours avec les Irlandais ; dites-leur surtout que la République française n'est pas et ne sera pas une République aristocratique, où la liberté masque le privilége, mais une République embrassant le peuple tout entier dans les mêmes droits et dans les mêmes bienfaits.

“ Quant à d'autres encouragements, il ne serait pas convenable à nous de vous les donner, à vous de les recevoir. Je l'ai dit déjà à propos de la Suisse, à propos de l'Allemagne, à propos de la Belgique et de l'Italie. Je le répète à propos de toute nation qui a des débats intérieurs à vider avec elle-même ou avec son gouvernement. Quand on n'a pas son sang dans les affaires d'un peuple, il n'est pas permis d'y avoir son intervention ni sa main. Nous ne sommes d'aucun parti en Irlande

ou ailleurs, que du parti de la justice, de la liberté et du bonheur des peuples ! aucun autre rôle ne nous serait acceptable, en temps de paix, dans les intérêts et dans les passions des nations étrangères ! la France veut se réserver libre pour tous les droits.

“ Nous sommes en paix et nous désirons rester en bons rapports d'égalité, non avec telle ou telle partie de la Grande-Bretagne, mais avec la Grande-Bretagne toute entière ! Nous croyons cette paix utile et honorable non seulement pour la Grande-Bretagne et pour la République française, mais pour le genre humain ! nous ne ferons aucun acte, nous ne dirons aucune parole, nous n'adresserons aucune insinuation en contradiction avec les principes d'inviolabilité réciproque des peuples, que nous avons proclamés et dont le continent recueille déjà les fruits ! La Monarchie déchue avait des traités et des diplomates ! nous avons des peuples pour diplomates et des sympathies pour traités ! nous serions insensés de changer une telle diplomatie au grand jour contre des alliances sourdes et partielles avec les partis même les plus légitimes dans les pays qui nous environnent ! nous n'avons qualité ni pour les juger ni pour les préférer les uns aux autres. En nous déclarant amis de ceux-ci, nous nous déclarerions ennemis de ceux-là : nous ne voulons être ennemis d'aucun de vos compatriotes, nous voulons faire tomber au contraire par la loyauté de la parole républicaine les

préventions et les préjugés qui existeraient entre nos voisins et nous.

“ Cette conduite nous est inspirée, quelque pénible qu'elle soit, par le droit des gens autant que par nos souvenirs historiques.

“ Savez-vous ce qui a le plus irrité et le plus dessaffectionné la France de l'Angleterre dans la dernière République ? C'est la guerre civile reconnue soldée et servie par M. Pitt dans une partie de notre territoire. Ce sont ces encouragements et ces armes données à des Français combattant d'autres Français ! Ce n'était pas là la guerre loyale ! c'était la propagande royaliste faite avec le sang français contre la République ! cette conduite n'est pas encore, malgré nos efforts, tout à fait effacée de la mémoire de la nation. Eh bien, cette cause de ressentiment entre la Grande-Bretagne et nous, nous ne la renouvellerons pas en l'imitant jamais ! Nous recevons avec reconnaissance les témoignages d'amitié des différentes nationalités qui forment le grand faisceau britannique. Nous faisons des vœux pour que la justice fonde et resserre l'unité des peuples, pour que l'égalité en soit de plus en plus la base, mais en proclamant avec nous, avec elle et avec tous, le saint dogme de la fraternité, nous ne ferons que des actes fraternels, comme nos principes et comme nos sentiments pour tous les Irlandais.”

The whole proceeding would be so irregular

under any established form of government, that we must recollect the difficulties of Lamartine's position, and not too nicely criticise particular phrases; but though the speech was more elaborate than the sketch he had previously recited to me, and which I had immediately afterwards noted down as I recollect it, yet in the material points of distinct discouragement of any idea of support or assistance from France to these disloyal men, Lamartine courageously and effectually kept his promise to me. He was in consequence much abused last night at many of the violent clubs, and especially at Blanqui's, the reception of whose speech, in favour of these Irish traitors, was enthusiastic. Blanqui's is the most violent club in Paris; and there is certainly felt, in all such circles, the greatest desire that political confusion should be introduced either into Ireland or England. They cannot forgive us standing the shock as well as we seem likely to do. But this is quite consistent with my information, which was personal, as to the disappointment of this Deputation, and the man who reported it was one who had heard them use this language. I dare say many who would like the treason, would think this visit of the traitors injudicious, as it certainly was, because it provoked a disclaimer from Lamartine on the part of the Government, which it would otherwise have been not so easy to make public. But I have always felt that the great majority of the Republican Party wish us mischief, though they feel

they could not safely attempt to inflict it themselves; and I am also afraid there are others who have suffered most by the late changes, and who, like the fox who had lost his tail, would have no objection that we should lose ours, or rather our social head.

The tone of the address itself, though sufficiently objectionable, was less violent than I had anticipated ; and I cannot but think that some Hibernian hyperboles had been omitted, after their arrival here, to suit the reception they must have latterly foreseen. It is rather absurd that those who have no other pretence for agitation but a desire for national independence should throw themselves entirely upon the support of the sympathies of those before whom they humble themselves, by hailing them as arbiters of the destinies of the human race. Their allusion to Fontenoy, where their fathers fought as mercenaries in a French cause, showed they had no spark of that patriotic feeling which made their brothers the pride and glory of the British army in Spain and at Waterloo. This offer too, if it meant that they individually wished to come again and receive French pay, was a great bathos, from the boast with which they had arrived, that they came to claim that which they were sure to obtain—the assistance of 50,000 French troops for Ireland. All Lamartine's speech, after “quant à d'autres encouragements,” was essentially sound, though somewhat inflated. I joked with him about some of his absurd phrases. I told him

all was provisional now, but when we came to settled relations, I was afraid sympathies would not stand in the places of treaties; and as to the people playing the part of diplomatist, that the example had been before him that this would not do; for here were self-styled representatives of the people, and he was obliged to tell them to their faces they were only "la fraction d'une nation." A diplomatist only meant a regular representative of a foreign country. Lamartine took this in very good part, and said of course those were only figures of speech.

CHAP. VIII.

M. ARAGO NOMINATED MINISTER OF WAR.—ATTEMPT TO REVOLUTIONISE SAVOY.—UNPOPULAR DECRET OF APRIL 6.—THEORIES OF LOUIS BLAIS.—TREACHERY OF BLANQUI.—M. LAMARTINE AND SMITH O'BRIEN.—ELECTIONS OF OFFICERS OF THE NATIONAL GUARD.—SECOND CIRCULAR OF M. LEDRU-ROLLIN.—DISORGANISATION IN THE FRENCH ARMY.—STATE OF LYONS.—INVASION OF SAVOY.—ACCOUNTS FROM THE BELGIAN FRONTIERS.—REPUBLICAN HOPES OF A REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND.—THE PROPOSED CANDIDATES FOR THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AS CIRCULATED BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF PARIS.—FAILURE OF THE EXPECTATIONS FROM ENGLAND.—THE "BULLETINS DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE."—DIF-
FERENCES BETWEEN THE MEMBERS OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.—CONSPIRACY TO DESTROY THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.—OVERTHROW OF THE PLOT.—GENERAL CHIANGARNIER.—PERSONAL DANGER OF M. LAMARTINE.

April 6.

MUCH astonishment has been excited by the nomination of M. Arago to the post of Minister of War. In the present disorganised state of the army it was thought it would have been desirable to have selected some one whose previous career might have given more experience of the details of military discipline than is to be expected from M. Arago, well known exclusively in scientific pursuits.

This choice, which is said to have been much opposed by M. Lamartine, was the result of a dis-

trust felt by the Government in any of the principal officers of the army.

General Changarnier is supposed to have insisted upon *carte blanche* in the management of his department and the presence of 30,000 men in garrison in Paris ; as he did not think it would be in character for a Minister of War to find himself entirely without defence, and probably carried off some night by a Paris mob.*

It appears, by the most recent intelligence received from the frontiers of Savoy, that the attempt to revolutionise that country has, for the present, been checked ; that the authorities have returned to Chambéry ; the march of some of the troops towards the Alps been stopped, and the band of emigrants who had been approaching the frontier from the Lyons side have been warned that they must not enter Savoy armed, and have therefore halted at a town called Billay.

In the meantime, all the Savoyards usually resident in Paris from the time winter commences, and exercising street employments, have been summarily ejected ; the news of which will not predispose their countrymen to fraternisation.

* M. Lamartine, in his History, mentions that the whole affair was arranged during his accidental absence from the Council ; that he had offered General Subervie, when he came to complain of his dismissal, to make his restoration the condition of his own continuance in the Government ; but that the General, from personal delicacy, disclaimed any such interference, and M. Lamartine gave way, as he has done in too many cases, upon points which he considered of the greatest importance.

The Decree of the Provisional Government in the "Moniteur" of this morning gives a discretionary power to the mayors of the different communes, and the collectors, to diminish and remit the extra contribution of 45 centimes to such of the smaller proprietors as *they may think unable to pay it.*

The unpopularity of this *impôt* had been felt by the Government as likely to affect injuriously their prospects at the coming elections. In order to avoid this, they have not been satisfied with any fixed exemption below a certain sum; but, to strengthen the undue influence to which upon all occasions the heads of departments connected with the interior government of the country seem to cling, the exemption is made a matter of arbitrary favour, and to be apportioned by those of their employés who had previously been directed to take care of the elections.

These are the two articles of the Decree, leaving the decision as to the remission with the local authorities: —

"Art. 1^e. Les contribuables qui seraient hors d'état de supporter la contribution extraordinaire de 45 centimes, décrétée par le gouvernement provisoire le 16 Mars dernier, en seront dégrévés dans une équitable mesure.

"A cet effet, le maire, assisté du percepteur et d'un ou de plusieurs répartiteurs, dressera, dans la forme des états des côtes irrécouvrables, un état des contribuables à qui, en tenant un juste compte de leur position et des impérices nécessités du

trésor, il y aurait lieu de faire remise d'une partie ou de la totalité de la contribution extraordinaire.

"Art. 2^{me}. Cet état sera communiqué au contrôleur des contributions directes, qui donnera son avis dans le mois de la réception. Le directeur fera son rapport, et le commissaire du gouvernement statuera. Jusqu'à ce que les décisions aient été rendues, *le percepteur sursoira à toute poursuite.*"

I hear that two rather dangerous young demagogues from Blanqui's club went over to London the night before last: they both speak English. A great many more have gone both to Ireland and England within the last few days, but these two are represented as the most mischievous. I could not get their names, and indeed they probably would assume "aliases." They say that O'Gorman, who remains here, expresses his fear that they have excited the Irish people so much that they cannot now keep them back, and owns his conviction that any attempt would be utterly hopeless at present. Smith O'Brien is represented by some of his countrymen, who saw him before his departure, as very much discouraged.

Lamartine told me that Louis Blanc's theories are beginning to be detected by the workmen, and that, soon after the meeting of the National Assembly, he expects a great reaction on these social subjects from the good sense of the working classes themselves. He still talks confidently of their prospects. The exposure of Blanqui has certainly

been, as it has turned out, a very great assistance to the maintenance of order, by creating divisions in these bands of desperados.

The discoveries made by the publication in the "Revue Rétrospective" of Blanqui's treacherous dealings with the late Government, have placed him in a critical position with his club, and have led to the report to-day of the probability, therefore, of some immediate desperate attempt on the part of his bands to upset the Government. This report is, I believe, more accurate than such reports often are. I have almost arrived at the conclusion that things must be worse here before they can be better; and that the best thing for order, elsewhere, would be to pass through complete confusion here; not that it would be very pleasant for eye-witnesses.

It is said that Lamartine is to give a private dinner to Smith O'Brien to-morrow. This is possible, as Madame Lamartine has many English and Irish relations, and he may have had a private letter of recommendation to him. Of course I shall appear to know nothing about it.

The great point gained is that the rebuff they have received is as public as unexpected, and they cannot recover the confidence of their adherents by reporting subsequent private civilities.

The elections of the superior officers of the National Guards are concluded, and those of the companies are proceeding to-day: with the excep-

tion of the first arrondissement, all the most violent candidates have been elected; very many persons not voting from intimidation. Those preferred have been men previously convicted of political conspiracy, and promising for the future to march against the Assembly, should it have any hesitation in proclaiming the Republic.

The second circular of M. Ledru-Rollin, upon the subject of the elections, is less menacing in its tone than the last, but still contains distinct injunctions to Government functionaries to exert their influence upon the elections, to the exclusion of all persons who were not known as Republicans before the 24th of February.

This would very much limit the choice. As far as Paris is concerned, it appears from the disclosures made to the late Government by their informer Blanqui, which are now published, that the famous Secret Society of Republicans, called "La Société des Familles," only consisted of 780 members.

The sort of programme for legislation, which M. Ledru-Rollin shadows forth, would comprise any amount of spoliation of the rich, and the adoption of any of the most absurd theories of Louis Blanc; whilst, as to political innovation, it goes the whole length of making every judge an object of popular election. If this does not excite as much alarm as the previous circular, that circumstance arises from a growing conviction that it will work its own cure, and that the elections in

the provinces are more likely to be lost than won by the persevering application of such means.

To show that I am not exaggerating the obvious intentions of Ledru-Rollin's second circular, I note down, at random, some phrases from the copy before me: —

“Déjà je vous l'ai dit, des élections dépend l'avenir du pays. Sûrement républicaines elles lui ouvrent une ère brillante de progrès et de paix ; réactionnaires, même douteuses, elles le condamnent à des troubles déchirantes. Le Gouvernement doit-il agir sur les élections, ou se borner à en surveiller la régularité ?

“Je n'hésite pas à répondre que, sous peine d'abdiquer ou même de trahir, le Gouvernement ne peut se réduire à enrégistrer des procès verbaux et à compter des voix.

“Ces principes, Citoyens Commissaires, tracent la ligne de votre conduite. S'il vous était possible de vous multiplier, d'être partout à la fois, de mettre à chaque heure votre pensée en contact avec la pensée publique, vous ne feriez rien de trop. . . . Pénétrez-vous de cette vérité, que nous marchons vers l'anarchie, si les portes de l'Assemblée sont ouvertes à des hommes d'une moralité et d'une Républicanism équivoques.”

M. Ledru-Rollin makes Morality and Republicanism synonymous !

I mentioned to Lamartine, this morning, that I thought the addresses of his Commissary at Lyons,

to the army, were rather too warlike ; that when he addressed certain corps as being the first who were to face the stranger, it looked as if the Government contemplated having some enemy to fight, which I had not understood to be the case. M. Lamartine said that we must make allowance for the difficulties of young M. Arago's position there ; if his expressions were not very well considered, that he had done his very best, according to instructions, to prevent the passage of the bands of Savoyards, and that it was in consequence of his efforts in this respect, that the mutiny amongst the corps had first broken out ; but that he had a dispatch from him which would show he had done his utmost to prevent that which had ended, as he understood, in the proclamation of a Republic in Savoy. The Government had not, as yet, any details upon this subject.

As indicating the present disorganised state of the French army, two remarkable incidents have occurred, within the last few days. When the General at Lyons named the regiments which were to form the first division upon the frontiers, the 13th legion desired to be excused, and to remain at home, as they had not sufficiently recovered from their fatigues in Algiers.

The other fact, though not so unparalleled, does not show any superabundance of military ardour. The soldiers of the reserve of 1841 being called out again, have presented an address to the Govern-

ment, begging that they may not be removed from their homes, though they have no objection to serve in the National Guard, or in the Garde Mobile.

April 8.

On calling on Lamartine this morning, I found him in a state of considerable uneasiness concerning the reports he had received of the state of Lyons, as consequent upon the recent events in Savoy.

As no correct accounts of these events have, as yet, appeared in any of the public prints, I can only gather their nature from Lamartine's verbal report to me. It appears after the flight of the regularly appointed authorities from the town of Chambery, it was, for a time, in the power of the legion of returned emigrants, with whom there were many French, who were joined by a portion of the townspeople; but that as soon as the alarm had spread into the neighbouring country, the peasants came down in large numbers, instigated, and in some instances headed, by the priests. An action ensued, in which the Republicans were completely routed, some few killed, amongst whom was the newly-appointed mayor: many of the French were taken prisoners, but not, by M. Lamartine's account, at all ill-treated.

Lamartine read me a portion of a report he had received from M. Arago, Commissary at Lyons, giving an alarming account of the impression produced there by this news. The population, which, including the garrison, has been since the revolution in a state approaching to anarchy, have threatened to march up to Chambery, to the number of 30,000; and he feared they would be joined by a portion of the troops as volunteers; and the general cry was for vengeance. Lamartine seemed most deeply to feel how powerless he was to prevent such an attempt. I said I trusted, however, that he would, at any sacrifice, be prepared to do his utmost, on the part of the Government, to keep clear of any apparent participation in such a monstrous attempt. That hitherto justice had been done to his efforts to repress these marauding expeditions; but a repetition of them upon foreign territories from which they had already been driven, could not but create throughout Europe, and especially in England, the worst possible effect. He said that everything in his power should be done to avoid the danger; he was aware that if these French volunteers entered Savoy there might be much bloodshed, from the exasperation already produced. Lamartine added, that if the worst came to the worst, he should, if it depended upon him, attempt to repress the disorder thus produced, by the presence there of an army, without the least intention of occu-

pying Savoy, except for the purpose of restoring order. I told him I was afraid any such proceeding would be extremely liable to misconstruction. I asked him what number of troops they at present had in that neighbourhood. Lamartine answered, at Grenoble there were 30,000 men. I suggested that it would then be much better to use that force on the French frontier to prevent the possibility of this disorderly reunion. Lamartine said, certainly, if these troops were exactly what they wished, and if they could be sure they would not join the others.

I have never had any conversation with Lamartine which left me with so strong a conviction of the utter helplessness of the Government to control the popular impulse, should it assume a shape threatening to the security of neighbouring states. Luckily there does not appear, at present, any great desire for military aggression; but M. Lamartine avowed that the Clubs were not at all satisfied with the line taken by the Government with respect to their propagandist expeditions. He concluded, however, as he has often done before, by consoling himself with the prospect, that if the next few days before the elections could be passed without any event fatal to the Provisional Government, of which there now seemed a better chance, then the cause of order would be in the process of re-establishment. I should add that, in answer to a remark of mine that an army hereafter in Savoy

might be as unmanageable as the one on the frontier now might be found to be, M. Lamartine spoke of another general as necessary, and of the great want at present being a Minister of War.

This state of the army is a most awkward incident for internal safety. But the imminent danger Lamartine seems to apprehend is still that of an incursion from Lyons into Savoy. If the country had not been completely deprived of all regular force by Charles Albert's crusade in another direction, I should have believed the hardy mountaineers would have given the vagabonds a proper peppering before they arrived at Chambery; but they may be discouraged by the complete abandonment of all authority. Since I had begun to write this down, I have heard that a regiment had already returned to Chambery; and, as the spirit of the people appears roused, I think a Lyons mob would find enough to do after marching fifty miles; and the defiles of the Alps would probably be more fatal to the marauding invaders than the Belgian railways. But another similar attempt would be very discreditable to the French Government,—and so I think Lamartine seemed to feel it; indeed, he has more reason to be ashamed here, as his reply to the Savoyard deputation was the worst thing he has done. When I was finding fault with Ledru-Rollin's last circular to-day, he admitted that it was very bad, and that he had struck off three-fourths of what he, Ledru, meant to say. I regretted

he had left the other fourth. He added, "It did not much signify, for all the elections will go *against them* in spite of their circulars." It was curious to hear him speak in this distinctive sense of the act of his colleague, "against them!"

April 9.

I again mentioned to Lamartine that I did not like some of the accounts which I heard from the Belgian frontier: that it appeared as if those bands were reforming and recruiting in the Department du Nord; that the French Government would, of course, be much more responsible for any second attempt after the past experience. M. Lamartine had made inquiries on Saturday, and had no reason to believe that there was any prevalent idea of renewing the attack: at any rate the Government had much more power now than they had the first time, and were determined to do their best to repress it. I said that I had read an article in the "National" of yesterday which I did not like, as it spoke openly of the throne of King Leopold as only preserved for a time, and the independence of Belgium as contingent upon the good pleasure of France. I added that of course, in these times, one could not attach much importance to the opinions, upon such subjects, of a newspaper; but that the "National" had a certain semi-official

reputation, and, therefore, such sentiments were likely to increase the irritation in Belgium against those attacks upon its independence, and would elsewhere, no doubt, also excite public attention. M. Lamartine had not read the article in the "National :" he said that it had no authority as a Government organ ; that it was true it was the property of one member of the Government, but that he did not now interfere in the management ; and probably these articles were only intended to prevent its circulation amongst the more advanced portion of the party from being injured by its being supposed too much under the influence of the Government.*

April 10.

Much excitement is felt this morning in Paris as to what may, at this moment, be passing in London. When the triumph of order shall be made known to-morrow, I cannot conceal from myself that very general disappointment will be felt in almost all classes. The violent republicans would look to the overthrow of the royal authority in England as the removal of the greatest barrier to the spread of propagandism. Not a few of the more moderate of that party would feel their vanity gratified by

* It was indeed fortunate, not only for Belgium but for the rest of Europe, that that country possessed at this moment a sovereign endowed with every quality calculated to carry his people and himself successfully through the crisis.

our having been obliged to follow their example; and, amongst some of those most opposed to the existing order of things here, who have no national antipathies and some personal good-will towards us, a lurking satisfaction might have been found if we could have been brought to partake their misfortunes.

At the same time I am bound to add that, in talking the matter over this morning with a Republican, one "*de la veille*," he said, "No, you will be saved because you have an aristocracy, one, too, not envied for any exclusive privileges, but respected in the exercise of its constitutional functions." *

* It happened singularly enough, that as I was revising this portion of these pages for publication, I came across a criticism upon the late remarkable work of M. de Montalembert, by M. St. Marc Girardin, in which that accomplished writer and acute critic quotes an extract from a speech of Count Molé in the Chamber of Peers in 1826, upon the question of the possibility of an aristocracy in France, in which he used these words:—"Créer une aristocratie ou la rétablir là où elle a cessé d'exister, c'est une entreprise si délicate, si difficile, que je ne sache qu'un législateur qui en a eu jusqu'ici le secret, et ce législateur c'est le temps." I agree with M. St. Marc Girardin that M. Molé did indeed show here "ce bon sens ferme et ingénieux qui était une de ses supériorités." But M. Molé, after these words were uttered, and before his lamented death, saw two other revolutions; and M. Girardin probably knows as well as I do, that, to the last, M. Molé thought that one of the immediate consequences of the *avant dernier*, the abolition of the hereditary character of the Peerage, thereby destroying its independence and its consideration, became one of the causes which contributed to produce that of

As the "National" of this morning gives a list of the proposed candidates for the general Assembly, circulated by the Central Committee of Paris, for the army and navy, through their regular superior officers, I showed the paper to Lamartine, and said that it appeared to me that this was making the army and navy engines to turn all the departments into nomination boroughs; that if these lists

1848. No moderating power which had any influence upon public opinion having been left to interpose and break the shock between a king, who would govern as well as reign, and his people.

It is true that there could be no permanence in an hereditary institution which was not supported by at least adequate fortunes; but had not this change in the political character of the Chamber of Peers been made in 1832, the then existing generation would have in the main survived many years, a fairer trial would have been given to parliamentary institutions, and the crisis might at least have been delayed. M. St. Marc Girardin seems rather sceptical as to the possibility of preserving for any length of time any government in France: "Je réponds, sans hésiter, que dans un pays où tous les gouvernements ont tombés, la chute d'un gouvernement quelconque ne peut pas être un argument décisif contre la nature de ce gouvernement." I may perhaps be permitted, though a foreigner, to say, that throughout the successive falls of these different Governments, this one element has been uniformly wanting, which has elsewhere ever been found coexistent with stability; it is not too much to assert that that element has a character essentially conservative. Whether there exists in French manners such an antipathy to the existence of an aristocracy that every evil arising from its absence must for ever be borne, seems to be the question between M. St. Marc Girardin and M. de Montalembert; and, as the question thus stated is peculiarly a national one, I do not presume to interpose my opinion between two such high authorities.

were sent, as it were, by a sort of authority to these ignorant people, knowing nothing probably either of the sentiments of their departments or of the character of the persons whose names were given, they would, if still under discipline, sign it as a matter of duty, and those who were disorganised could not (situated as they were) substitute any other names which could have a chance of success. M. Lamartine said that the central committee of elections was not directly connected with the Government; though the majority of the members were its supporters, some were also of extreme opinions, that it would be equally open to all other clubs, or to any individual, to send other lists through the same channel to the troops and the seamen. M. Lamartine added, that from what he knew of the names mentioned, he did not think the list would be a bad one, though it was not one which he should himself have selected. In Paris, for instance, he found a majority of names upon which he could rely for a moderate and orderly course of government; and if Paris, which was always expected to return some of the most violent demagogues, gave a list with which he thought he could govern, what might not be expected from the departments? In these, he thought the majority would be very decidedly against all extreme parties, and he gave, as a symptom, how many of the Government commissioners had been driven away when they had exceeded the bounds of their legi-

timate authority. M. Lamartine has uniformly held the same language to me, that the country could only return the materials of which it was composed, and these were not in any respect ultra-revolutionary. On the other hand, I feel bound to say that I understand M. Ledru-Rollin, with whom I have no personal communication, continues to hold out to his adherents, that by the machinery which he is employing, he will secure an Assembly to his liking, and that he looks forward to be himself the President of the new Republic.

I then inquired whether he had any further intelligence from Lyons respecting the projects which, he had told me on Saturday, were entertained there of a fresh incursion into Savoy. I added, that having read, since I saw him, the different accounts given in the papers of what had happened at Chambery, I found that the unanimous feeling of the population appeared to have been opposed to these brigands, and it would therefore be a monstrous outrage in the eyes of the civilised world if such an attempt was again repeated. Lamartine interrupted me with the assurance that the news he had received from Lyons was much more favourable, and he believed every such notion as he had mentioned on Saturday was completely abandoned. I said I thought that was a prudent determination on the part of the Lyons mob, as it was not always a very tempting expedition to violate the independence of

hardy mountaineers; indeed, this last band seemed to have found no other support than a momentary panic on the part of the authorities. M. Lamartine mentioned, that the very small amount of fire-arms with which they had made their insane attempt was a proof that they had received no assistance from the Government. M. Lamartine, upon the subject of these various bands of foreigners returning with revolutionary intentions to their own country, told me that he had just heard from Strasbourg that the whole population within the French frontier were furious against the corps of Germans returning from Paris, which they heard were approaching, and were prepared to give them an unpleasant reception.

I cannot exaggerate the enormous effect produced here by the gratifying result of the London failure, after such absurd expectations as had been founded upon the number of the surprises they had previously welcomed from so many capitals; they are literally confounded, and can only console themselves by copying into all their papers the reports that some policeman's hats were beaten in near Blackfriars Bridge. They got a telegraphic dispatch from Boulogne on Monday afternoon, to the effect that there had been fighting in London from the early morning, and that the town was in general insurrection. Lamartine told me he prevented this being put in an official shape into the papers; but I have no doubt Ledru-Rollin

had sent it down to Boulogne, in order that it might thus come back again.

Paris has been very quiet since Marrast's last proclamation. I went to a theatre quite in the remote Boulevards last night, and found the town perfectly orderly. The accounts from the provinces, however, represent discontent as spreading, and many commissioners have been *chassés*. On the other hand, here is another attempt to excite the revolutionary spirit. It is just a month since I myself made Lamartine acquainted with the "first Bulletin de la République." It was published on the 13th of March, and a firm determination was then expressed by Lamartine to guard, for the future, against the inevitable mischief which must be produced if such sentiments were given to the world with the authority of the Government. I had, indeed, understood that it had been arranged one or other of the members of the Government should see each bulletin before it was published, and strike out anything that appeared to them as objectionable. Lamartine's own opinion was, that they were none of them written by M. Ledru-Rollin himself, but were the joint productions of M. Jules Favre, the Under-Secretary of State, and the celebrated authoress, Madame George Sand. If any such supervision was ever exercised by any of the more moderate members of the Government, they had got tired of their task; for yesterday appeared one speaking again in the name of the whole Government, which decided,

according to the supposed sentiments of the violent minority, all those questions upon which the future depends, inculcating the submission of the rest of France to the will of Paris, and upholding the rule of the clubs and mobs as superior to the decision of the future National Assembly. Some of the previous bulletins may have been more novel and venturesome in the social and moral doctrines proclaimed therein, evidently under the gifted inspiration of the fairer portion of "La Rédaction," but none have ever led so directly to a Red Republic; but I cannot help selecting at once some of the most perverse of the doctrines of this marvellous document:—

"If the result of those elections which ought to be the safety of the Republic should seem likely to be its destruction, who could hesitate? The people who made the barricades should intervene, and pay no regard to the decisions of a falsified National Representation. Such a remedy is extreme, it is true; but will France force Paris to have recourse to it? Paris has a right to consider herself as the depository of the national will," &c.

"Citizens! it must not be that you should be yourselves forced to abdicate your sovereignty. Between the danger of losing your conquests by the means of an incapable Assembly, or by a movement of popular indignation to retain them, the Provisional Government can do no more than warn you of your danger. Elected by you, it can-

not prevent the evil that may arise from the mistaken exercise of a sacred right, nor attempt to check your ardour the day when, perceiving this mistake, you may yourself choose to change the form in which that right shall be exercised."

It may well be imagined that this bulletin has been the one subject of conversation during the four-and-twenty hours that have elapsed since its publication.

I have just been informed, privately, that these bulletins were sent more than three weeks since round to all the Commissaries of the Departments, for circulation, in the name of the Minister of the Interior, who, according to Lamartine's account, had told him that he had nothing to do with them, and disapproved of many of their doctrines.

April 17.

The Government, shaken to its centre by internal divisions, and undermined by treachery, has been saved by the spontaneous exertions of those who have no more direct interest in its preservation than the dread of something worse. Various are the speculations this morning as to the secret history of the conflicting demonstrations of yesterday; as there is no result in the shape of actual event, every one is at liberty to put his own con-

struction upon the cause, and, indeed, also upon the effect, of the extreme agitation which, for many hours, prevailed throughout Paris.

I believe I am now in a condition to put upon record an accurate summary of all these transactions.

For some days past the known differences existing between the members of the Provisional Government had assumed a more formidable character. It was understood, that whatever friendly professions were made to M. Lamartine on behalf of all his colleagues, a common jealousy had been felt against him, by MM. Ledru-Rollin, Flocon, Louis Blanc, Albert, and to these was not unfrequently added M. Arago, whose vanity was much wounded by the increasing popularity of M. Lamartine. It was only towards the conclusion of a Council, held on Saturday afternoon, that M. Ledru-Rollin said, he thought it right to inform his colleagues that a very formidable demonstration had been organised against the Government for the next day; that the working classes were to assemble in great numbers in the Champ de Mars, and, marching in procession to the Hôtel-de-Ville, would loudly express their discontent at the unpopular course which they considered the Government to be pursuing. M. Lamartine had probably been already irritated by the document which had appeared that morning in the "Bulletin de la République," and dated Ministère de l'Intérieur, and in which all the objectionable measures in M. Ledru-Rollin's first circular had been exceeded. Upon

hearing this announcement, Lamartine, I believe, rose indignantly, with the exclamation that, as Minister of the Interior, having the police at his command, he ought not to have made so tardy an announcement to the Government without having been, at the same time, able to announce the precautions he had taken to prevent the mischief. If he had not known it before, he was very ill served by his police; if he *had* known it, he himself ill served his country. M. Ledru-Rollin had not much defence to make against this attack; but I am not able to give any further trustworthy details as to what passed then, or at the subsequent Council in the evening; the result of M. Lamartine's secret information from his own agents was, that a conspiracy was organised to overthrow the Provisional Government the next day at the Hôtel-de-Ville; to appoint a committee of public safety,—to consist of MM. Arago, Ledru-Rollin, Flocon, Albert, and Louis Blanc; to adjourn the elections to the 31st of May; and to appoint twelve commandants of their own party in the different legions of the National Guard. Blanqui, though not named as a member of the new Government in the first instance, was to have assisted, with all his club, in the Revolution. At that club, on Saturday night, most violent language was held, especially against Lamartine. One man in particular said, that the time was come when those who made the Revolution should profit by it; that it was not to be snatched from them by the rich,

whether land-holders or bourgeoisie; that to-morrow was the day of action. The Provisional Government was supposed to be divided into three parties, but that over all predominated one man, whose egregious popularity produced by his writings and powers of public speaking was no longer to be borne by those who valued their liberties: would they submit to him? did they expect he would submit to them? and if not, what remained but to take his life? I understand this sentiment met with no apparent reprobation.*

M. Lamartine, whilst reflecting yesterday morning what possible course he could take to guard

* One of the most extraordinary illusions, which gave such a character of eccentricity to M. Lamartine's chivalrous career, was the idea that his eloquence could have any beneficial effect, even upon such a man as Blanqui. He himself describes him as having been convicted upon an inspection of the secret archives at the Home Office, of having sold his fellow-conspirators to the Government of Louis-Philippe, and yet he sent for him and affected to make him his confidant. In the interview sought by himself, only a few days before the 16th of April, he thus addresses Blanqui, "Causons donc à fond, je viens vous ouvrir toutes mes pensées, sans voile, comme un homme qui n'a rien à cacher même à ses ennemis." And M. Lamartine was so pleased with the effect this address had produced upon Blanqui, that double-edged traitor, that he seems to have offered him diplomatic employment. "Blanqui ne paraît même pas éloigné de l'idée de servir au dehors, un gouvernement dont il honorerait les ministres et dont il partagerait les vues." And yet, within one week of this intercourse, which he notwithstanding published some months afterwards, the scene occurred at Blanqui's club, the details of which I heard from M. Lamartine himself, and recorded at the time, as is seen above.

against the dangers of the day, not possessing himself any departmental functions which would enable him to take any steps independent of his colleagues, received a visit from Ledru-Rollin. He remained nearly an hour, during which time M. Lamartine succeeded in persuading him that if he gave himself up to a participation in the schemes of Flocon, Blanqui, and Louis Blanc, he must also share the inevitable consequences. Though they might establish a dictatorship for a short time in Paris, the provinces were already so excited, that they would certainly before long march upon the capital, and their signal vengeance would fall upon all the principal authors of the plot. Ledru-Rollin's courage appears to have failed him, and upon a discussion between them of how the evil was now to be prevented, Lamartine suggested that the *rappel* should be beat for the muster of the whole of the National Guard.

Ledru-Rollin then left him, having consented to this step being taken; but Lamartine, as it appears, either distrusted him, or thought no time was to be lost, for he immediately started himself with one of his secretaries, Colonel Caillet, first to see General Duvivier, the commandant of the Garde Mobile; after some delays, however, owing to the general being from home, he obtained the signatures for the muster of this body, stating that he had the authority of the Minister of the Interior. He then went to the head-quarters of the National Guard. General Courtois was not there, and

General Guinard, the second in command, refused to take the step. General Courtois was sent for, and he confirmed that refusal. Upon M. Lamartine asserting that he had the authority of the Minister of the Interior, the most General Courtois proposed to do was to call out fifty men from each battalion, in case of necessity ; and he returned a decided negative to the inquiry, whether he would allow them to be furnished with ball-cartridges. Lamartine, finding nothing was to be done with these two generals, who were creatures of Ledru-Rollin, and knowing that most valuable time was wasting, went, as a last resource, to the Hôtel-de-Ville. But the overthrow of this well-organised plot was, in the main, owing to the intervention of one who had no official character, whose energy and presence of mind rendered most valuable services. General Changarnier, in his character of diplomatic agent, having been appointed Minister at Berlin, called at the Foreign Office for instructions ; finding the Minister already gone to the Hôtel-de-Ville, he asked to see Madame Lamartine, and heard from her the imminent peril of her husband ; being further informed that the Minister of the Interior had been persuaded by him to order the *rappel* to be beat, the general expressed his conviction that M. Ledru-Rollin was in the plot, and would allow no such thing, and immediately hastened to the Hôtel-de-Ville, found M. Lamartine and M. Marrast,

the Mayor of Paris, courageous, but hopeless : at length, he it was who persuaded the latter that it was his duty, as Mayor, to issue at once a summons for the whole of the National Guard, as necessary for the safety of Paris. Men on horseback were despatched at once with these orders to the twelve different Mairies, and such was the zeal and alacrity shown by the National Guard in all quarters of the town, that though it was half-past twelve before the orders left the Hôtel-de-Ville, yet before two o'clock, the hour at which the popular demonstration was to march from the Champ de Mars, 130,000 men, in and out of uniform, were under arms, and above 50,000 bayonets assembled round the Hôtel-de-Ville. The orders by which they débouched there from different quarters were superintended by General Changarnier, who, though without any command, and in plain clothes, undertook the military arrangements under the authority of M. Lamartine.*

As it turned out, the delay which had prevented any earlier notification of the muster of the National Guard increased the consternation of the

* I cannot mention, for the first time, the name of General Changarnier, without testifying to my sense of the great services rendered to his country by that distinguished man during the next two years. I received many proofs of his friendship and confidence, which I shall always highly value ; but my acquaintance with him only dates from that day when I met him, as he was descending the stairs of the *Affaires Étrangères*, and was as much relieved as Madame Lamartine seemed to be by hearing the prompt co-operation he had promised.

thirty thousand organised insurgents, who, occupied with their own proceedings, had not been aware of what was going on elsewhere; and who, when they approached the Hôtel-de-Ville, found their march suddenly checked, and were only allowed to advance by single file through columns of bayonets. Under these circumstances, the leaders prudently determined to preserve the inoffensive character which the procession had hitherto assumed, and to profess their general attachment to the Provisional Government, though they desired some arrangements about labour to be immediately made. About this time, however, General Changarnier in the course of his movements had detected and examined a fourgon, in which were deposited 1500 loaded muskets; as it appears, that whilst deceiving the bystanders, through whom they passed, by the appearance of a holiday procession in their best clothes, and whilst, perhaps, many had joined that procession with other views, the leaders had organised all the materials for a *coup-de-main*. Little has as yet been said about this discovery, as it might not be convenient at present to trace the persons by whom those arms were provided. When M. Louis Blanc arrived and found Lamartine alone, receiving the deputations, the other members of the Government being still at the Hôtel de Finances, he objected much to what had taken place; asked if he thought himself above the Government; and inquired why all that unnecessary force had been

displayed. Lamartine recommended silence to M. Louis Blanc, as, if he provoked him to speak, he might find that he knew things which he would wish concealed, and M. Louis Blanc submitted, without reply, to the insinuation. Nothing further passed in the course of the afternoon, except that when the other members of the Government arrived, and the National Guards were to march past, they insisted upon Lamartine being in the midst of them, lest their reception by that body should not be favourable. Throughout the evening cries were heard from the returning legions, as well as from many of the people, of "*A bas les Communistes!*" this, taken in connexion with some phrases, such as, "vérités sociales," in the last bulletin, and the attempted demonstration of yesterday, must be considered as meaning, à bas Ledru-Rollin and his party, and I understand it was so considered last night at Blanqui's club, where threats of another day were held out, mixed with complaints that yesterday they had been surprised.

My own impression, derived from all I heard and all I saw myself yesterday, is that the plot, whatever it was, has produced a very imposing demonstration in behalf of the cause of order and regular government; and that it was principally useful in restoring to the National Guards a consciousness of their force, showing at the same time an excellent spirit on behalf of those who had been recently added to that body. I cannot go a step further, or

agree with the Government paper, in saying that I saw in it a further guarantee of the permanence of Republican institutions. The demonstration of feeling, after all, amongst the majority did not partake at all of a political character. It was in favour of one man, and against another; and the favour was shown, not for any political blessings ensured, but for the care taken to preserve all of national wellbeing which the Revolution had not already destroyed. There seemed to me no Republican enthusiasm whatever, still less any cry for the Monarchy; and yet how miserably must the late Government have abused its opportunities, when, in such an absence of present satisfaction, no feeling of regret lurked on the part of any one towards the dynasty which had been so suddenly overthrown.

It is impossible not to feel that the personal position of M. Lamartine is now, and must remain for the next few weeks, one of great danger, exposed as he is to the concentrated hostility of all the ultra-revolutionary party. Of the two courses which are open to him, one would be, backed as he is still by the bare majority of the Provisional Government, and supported by such a manifestation of popular feeling as yesterday produced, to denounce the colleagues who were conspiring against the body to which they belonged, and to continue the administration of affairs till after the approaching elections; but from the irregular man-

ner in which the Government was constituted, there would be technical difficulties as well as immediate risks in such a course, and it appears that he intends, if possible, to maintain, till the Assembly meets, the semblance of the original Government still existing ; though, in so doing, he will have to struggle against the departmental influence of the Minister of the Interior, and I am afraid I must add of the Minister of War.

To this determination, I have no doubt, he has been partly brought by feeling that discredit must fall upon the whole Revolution, and attach to this Republican experiment, if its first creation could not even hold together until after that general election, which it was only appointed to arrange and to await.

The temporary mission of these men, whether delegated or self-assumed, was inaugurated with the devise, *Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité*. These comprehensive words were made the motto of the new Republic, and have, in eternal repetition, ever since heralded forth the promulgation of each Government decree. But it is now too evident that within the circle of that Government, and amongst its discordant materials, *Liberté* consists in repeated attempts to coerce and overcome each other by threatening demonstrations : *Égalité*, in practice, means successive struggles for predominance. What a climax of failure would it then be if this *Fraternité* of irreconcilable strife were to end abruptly in hostile and premature separation !

CHAP. IX.

DECREES AND PROCLAMATION OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

— REVIEW OF THE NATIONAL GUARD AND GARDE MOBILE.— COMPROMISES AMONGST THE MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT.— THE ELECTIONS.— “MORT AUX ANGLAIS.”—SCENES AT THE ELECTIONS.— M. LAMARTINE’S VIEWS RESPECTING THE FUTURE CONSTITUTION.— DISTURBANCES AT ROUEN.— LIST OF SUCCESSFUL CANDIDATES RETURNED FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF THE SEINE.— STATE OF PUBLIC FEELING.— M. LAMARTINE’S DIFFICULTIES.— MM. BARBÈS AND BLANQUI.— MEETING OF THE ASSEMBLY.— THE TIPPERARY ADDRESS AND M. LEDRU-ROLLIN.— M. LAMARTINE’S DISTINGUISHING CHARACTERISTICS.

April 19.

THREE decrees of the Provisional Government have been issued within the last two or three days, all apparently intended to exercise their effect upon the influence of the Government in the impending elections: One decrees the total abolition of the duty on salt on the 1st of next January. It would have appeared strange at any other time that a Provisional Government should have taken upon itself to deal with an important branch of permanent revenue; and this is rendered still more extraordinary by the fact that the date at which the act is to take effect is much subsequent to the utmost limit of the possible existence of the authority

which ordains it, and that, just at the conclusion of the career of this Provisional Government, they take upon themselves to do that which in the first days of the creation they declared, in answer to a deputation, would be a "monstrous usurpation" on their part.

The second edict declares that the permanence—in other words, the independence—of the judicial body is inconsistent with Republican institutions, and gives to M. Crémieux, the Provisional Minister of Justice, the power to remove or suspend any judge or magistrate as he may please.

The third abolishes the municipal tax upon all meat coming into Paris, and substitutes a duty upon carriages, horses, dogs, men-servants, and houses or lodgings of above the value of 800 francs a year. Much the larger portion of the funds which have been provided for local objects have hitherto been obtained by these dues levied at the barriers.

Such a system would be quite contrary to our habits, but the burden levied in this manner has not been severely felt; and the change will tell peculiarly at this moment, when almost every large house-proprietor is ruined by the apartments hitherto let to strangers or provincials being given up. And as these duties will not, like our assessed taxes, extend over the whole country, but be confined within the barriers, it will increase that emigration of all the monied classes which

the alarm as to personal security has already produced, and add to the danger of this gay and busy capital being shortly converted into a perfect desert.

The "Moniteur" of this morning contains the proclamation, given below, issued by the Provisional Government upon the events of the 16th. I regret to say that I consider the tone of this proclamation is calculated to destroy much of the moral effect produced by the demonstration of zeal on the part of the National Guards, which has given such confidence to the friends of order.

It is to be observed, that in this extraordinary document, the same character and equal effect is attributed to the display made on the two days, the 17th of March and the 16th of April. The first having been a daring attempt on the part of the multitude to coerce the Provisional Government, and thereby to prolong the domination of that portion of the Paris population by postponing the elections. The second was, on the contrary, a ready response on the part of the whole body of the civic guard to the appeal made by the Government for defence against a plot for their overthrow. In this proclamation no allusion is ventured to this conspiracy which was distinctly denounced by Lainartine from the Hôtel-de-Ville. The natural construction of the words would rather seem to express satisfaction at the meeting in the Champ de Mars from which the mischief was apprehended, than at

the zealous support of the National Guard, by which that mischief was averted.

I have not been able to see Lamartine this morning, as he had already gone to the Hôtel-de-Ville when I called upon him; but I am the more disappointed that such should have been the result of the council held yesterday, as I was given to understand that he had prepared for their adoption a very different production, which was to have spoken boldly on behalf of the maintenance of order and regular government, and perfect freedom of election throughout the country.

Before this lame and impotent conclusion was known, I was not aware of anything precise which could account for the state of uneasiness that prevailed during the last four-and-twenty hours in the public mind. The faction which has made one or two attempts latterly against the moderate portion of the Provisional Government is known to be desperate and unscrupulous, and there seems a vague anticipation of some event between this and to-morrow morning. Should the Provisional Government in its integrity get over the next few hours, the danger will be much diminished by the presence in Paris of several thousand troops, who are to arrive for the review to-morrow. I gave the other day the account of the proceedings on Sunday forenoon as it came direct from Lamartine, but I find from good authority that General Changarnier's account as to what passed at the Hôtel-de-

Ville rather differs from it. He says upon his arrival there he found both Lamartine and Marrast entirely without resource of any kind, fully expecting to be massacred, and awaiting the event without intending to make any further effort. Lamartine expecting the moment with great calmness; Marrast with as much courage as could be expected from a man who had only wielded a pen all his life, but looking the colour of the paper he had been used to spoil.* Changarnier, by his account, suggested the order from the Mayor for the Rappel, and organised the whole arrangement.

Marshal Bugeaud always said of Changarnier, that he never in all his service saw such a man for an emergency; so this may be true.

“Jeudi 20 Avril, 1848.

“ RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE.

“ Au nom du Peuple Français.

“ *Proclamation.*

“ Citoyens !

“ La République vit de liberté et de discussion,

* I suppose when I used this phrase I must have meant that he had spoiled the paper by sullying its purity with distorted colouring of the state of society in his own country, and by systematically blackening our national character; but, politics apart, I had always a great admiration for M. A. Marrast's very peculiar talents as a periodical writer.

des Clubs sont pour la République un besoin, pour les citoyens un droit.

“ Aussi le Gouvernement Provisoire s'est-il félicité de voir sur les divers points de la capitale les citoyens s'assembler pour conférer entre eux sur les questions les plus élevées de la politique, sur la nécessité de donner à la République une impulsion énergique, vigoureuse et féconde.

“ Le Gouvernement Provisoire protège les Clubs.

“ Mais, pour que leur liberté, pour que la révolution ne soit point arrêtée dans sa marche glorieuse, gardons-nous, citoyens, de tout ce qui peut entretenir dans l'opinion des inquiétudes sérieuses et permanentes; rappelons-nous que ces inquiétudes servent d'aliment à des calomnies contre-révolutionnaires et d'arme à l'esprit de réaction, avisons donc à des mesures qui, en protégeant la sécurité publique, coupe court aux dangereuses rumeurs, aux calomnieuses alarmes. Si la discussion libre est un droit et un devoir, la discussion armée est un danger, elle peut devenir une oppression. Si la liberté des Clubs est un des plus inviolables conquêtes de la révolution, des Clubs qui délibèrent en armes peuvent compromettre la liberté elle-même, exciter la lutte des passions et en faire sortir la guerre civile.

“ Citoyens, le Gouvernement Provisoire, fidèle à son principe, veut la sécurité dans l'indépendance des opinions. Il a déjà pris des mesures propres à la protéger, il ne peut vouloir que les armes soient mêlées au délibérations. Notre république c'est

L'union, c'est la fraternité, et ces sentiments excluent toute pensée de violence.

“ La meilleure sauve-garde de la liberté, c'est la liberté.

“ Les Membres du Gouvernement Provisoire :—

*“ DUPONT (de l'Eure), ARMAND MARRAST,
GARNIER-PAGÈS, ARAGO, ALBERT, MARIE,
CRÉMIEUX, LOUIS BLANC, LEDRU-ROLLIN,
FLOCON, LAMARTINE.”*

April 20.

Friday had been announced as a general holiday in Paris, devoted to the review of the National Guards, with the Garde Mobile, to whom colours were to be presented, and a portion of the regular cavalry and regiments of the line, who were to show themselves for the first time since the Revolution. The locality was well chosen; the weather was, however, during the early part of the day, unfavourable. The display of armed force was very imposing. I should not say, from anything I myself saw, that there was much enthusiasm, but I hear that others in different points of the line of march returned with a more favourable impression. The reception of the Provisional Government, upon their arrival at the tribune erected for them at the Arc de Triomphe, struck me as very cold, but

the regular troops were warmly greeted when they appeared.

I have since been walking about in the Champs Elysées. The columns are still moving onwards, and I hear they will hardly all have marched past before dark. The day having been very wet at intervals, the Vivandière's stores have been in great request, and some of the men show symptoms of the way in which they have been employing their halts.

In England there would probably be a row from the state of intoxication of so many, but they seem very good-humoured, so that it may pass off quietly here, "pour la gloire de la Patrie." In many of the legions, the old National Guard in uniform are not one in ten to those that have been added since February.

I should say, upon the whole, that the result ought to inspire confidence in the maintenance of order, if the majority of the Provisional Government know how to avail themselves of the advantages which the existing disposition of the great body of the population seems to place at their disposal.

April 22.

M. Lamartine, on Wednesday last, obtained the signatures of all the members of the Provisional

Government to a decree forbidding the assemblages of any more bands of armed men upon the frontiers, with the apparent intention of making inroads into the neighbouring States. The decree is to announce that if such bands should, after this notice, persist in assembling, they shall be treated as outlaws. M. Lamartine told me this was settled, though it would not be published until after the elections. Another decree was also signed yesterday, for the permanent recall of the army into Paris. This also will not be published until the elections are over, but in a few days there will be twenty thousand men in Paris. It will be a great relief to the National Guards, who are almost overcome with their long-continued fatigues; but some of the most experienced of the general officers, at present in Paris, have told me that in the event of a contest in the streets of Paris, much reliance cannot be placed upon the troops until they have recovered from the effects of the recent treatment of the army.

It is understood that these two beneficial decrees were the result of a temporary compromise amongst the members of the Provisional Government, in consequence of which M. Lamartine consented to sign two others, to which most just objections have recently been taken.

It seemed to me that this whole system of compromise at such a moment was, in fact, direct loss of character on the part of those who, having a

thorough conviction that certain things are right, and certain other acts wrong, and boasting that they possess a decided majority in the Government, allow immedieate mischief to be done, in exchange for some prospective advantage after the elections ; and, as M. Lamartine had always encouraged me to give my opinion frankly and confidentially to him upon any of the proceedings of the Government that come under my observation, I told him yesterday, that if I were a Frenchman and a Republican, and I was as little the one as the other, and if I were also a member of the National Assembly, I should, with a view even to the permanence of the Republican form of Government, feel it my duty at once to repudiate almost all the acts, in the shape of decrees of the Provisional Government, and to vote a censure upon them, for having completely overstepped their legitimate functions, and dealt with subjects which belonged alone to the representatives of the people. Lamartine at once said, " And you would do perfectly right, and I trust some one will take that course. I have been obliged to pass over, and even to participate in, many things I disliked, from a determination, if possible, to keep the Government together till the meeting of the Assembly ; but there is no concealing the fact, the Government has, in many respects, not understood its duty. I have had offers, within the last few days, of support in any way I choose, if I would put myself

at the head of the National Guards ; but, for the reasons I have given, I would not do this ; it would be civil war."

It remains to be seen whether, in the choice of difficulties which M. Lamartine's position offered, he has chosen the least evil.

From the tone of the violent papers the last two or three days, I suspect they are now convinced the elections in the provinces will go against them ; but with the power of falsifying lists, and swindling votes, which the system of election facilitates, it is quite impossible for any one to predict the results. As to Paris, it was supposed that whatever candidates were put forward by the Government must surely be elected, as they had all the returning officers in their favour ; but the case has become rather more complicated at the last moment, because the schism between M. Ledru-Rollin and M. Marrast, the Mayor of Paris, has gone the length of inducing the friends of each to exclude the other from the lists circulated amongst their party. M. Ledru-Rollin's list omits the names of M. Garnier-Pagès, Marrast, Marie, and Crémieux. M. Marrast, on his side, leaves out M. Ledru-Rollin, Louis Blanc, Albert, and Flocon. M. Lamartine and M. Arago are in both lists. We shall therefore probably have the curious sight of an exercise of conflicting influences on the part of the Minister of the Interior, and the Mayor of Paris.

Since writing the above, I have seen other lists

from the revolutionary Central Club, from which are excluded all the members of the Provisional Government, except Ledru-Rollin, Louis Blanc, Albert, and Flocon.

M. Lamartine then gave me an account of his own impressions from the display of the day before. He considered it a very significant demonstration in favour of order. From nearly three hundred thousand armed men, there did not arise a single hostile cry. He conceived that this day, taken in connexion with last Sunday, had secured the permanent destinies of the country. It was possible that there still might be conspiracies, encouraged by treachery, since the Government, as a whole, was not good ; and that he and some of his friends might be carried off or sacrificed, but the spirit of the people would soon avenge them. In the meantime he hoped that confidence would result from this last demonstration. “*Comme c'était rassurant, Milord,*” were his words. I own that the mere spectacle that every ruffian in Paris has been furnished with arms, and knows how to use them, seems to me a singular foundation for confidence ;—nor am I completely reassured by the fact that they marched past by companies, and maintained a sort of discipline throughout a day which they were taught to believe was in celebration of themselves ; they certainly appeared generally in good humour, feeling no doubt they have everything their own way. But recollecting the impossi-

bilities they believe to be preparing for them, and the certainty that on the contrary their material condition will shortly be worse than it has ever been before, I turn from what the disposition of this armed mass was on Thursday last, with no slight uneasiness as to what it may be some weeks hence.

The impression derived by unpractised observers, as to the amount of enthusiasm shown by the people, seems to vary according to the legion of the National Guard which they may have seen pass; except at the Arc de Triomphe, at the moment when the most popular legions marched past, I do not believe there were any general cries of *Vive la République*, but certainly there was no outward appearance of the opposite alternative having occurred to any one.

Much is said of the fraternisation with the troops of the line; but I am correctly informed that there were not above four or five thousand troops of the line in all Paris. There were small detachments from various regiments; so that there was an appearance of a frequent admixture of them, without any one being struck by a long line of march of regular troops.

It is a curious instance of the loose and contradictory way in which the various departments of the Provisional Government deal with numbers as with everything else, that whilst the proclamation of the Government states the number of armed

men assembled at 300,000, which I believe to have been about the mark, General Courtois, in his general orders, boldly states the number to have been 400,000, making a difference of one-fourth between the two official statements.

April 24.

Lamartine speaks very confidently now of his future position, and it is much to be desired for the peace of Europe, that he should be personally strong enough to carry out his present pacific declarations, as I do not believe that his friendly dispositions are shared by his colleagues; as little, certainly, by the moderate section as by the ultras. There is nothing more violently anti-English than the "National," which is Marrast's paper; and some of Crémieux's first answers to addresses were as bad as possible. I am told that, in the course of Thursday, one of the tunes played often by the band, near the Arc de Triomphe, was the famous chorus out of Charles VI.; I suppose it must have been the same which alarmed some English, who came to the consul to say that a regiment had marched in to the tune of "Mort aux Anglais." The real sentiment expressed is one of which we could not complain—"Jamais en France l'Anglais ne régnera!" This is a distinction which assuredly none of us desire, but as the air

has always been used as indicative of anti-English feeling, it would be as well it should not again become popular. When the Republic is consolidated, it will be much embarrassed with this immense horde of armed men, who have been driven from employments where they can no longer make any money. From what one saw the other day, it would seem as if every Frenchman must be born with a musket on his shoulder. It affords a strange contrast to our general elections, that there does not appear the slightest excitement in Paris to-day. This may arise from the great number of polling places, forming so far a security against intimidation; but also perhaps from a practice, which I am told prevails, of previously packing the lists. In the twelfth arrondissement, where many irregularities were on Saturday detected, they say that at the recent election for a colonel of the National Guard, the urn had been half filled with forged votes before it was presented to the *bond jide* electors. I think this shames our more experienced practice of corruption.

April 25.

What an extraordinary fact, that twelve hours after the urns are closed one knows nothing for certain, and hears nothing but contradictory speculations about the result of the elections! On the

one hand, it is said that the cheating carried on in other arrondissements besides the twelfth was so extensive, that all the violent names will by these means have been returned ; on the other, it is certain that very much fewer of the working classes voted than was expected. It was with the greatest difficulty they could be persuaded to take the slightest interest in the elections.

In the country districts in the neighbourhood of Paris, some curious scenes occurred. Some peasants who had been furnished with lists took them to any neighbour whom they respected, and asked him to point out the names of those who were the *richest* ; that they were the people they should wish to choose, as likely to be the most useful to them. So impossible is it to *improviser* equality !

In another district about two hundred people, with bands and flags, came down to the curé and the notaire of the village, and asked them to make out two hundred copies of a list for them, as they were going to execute their right of voting. These local authorities then asked them what names they should put down ; and they answered they did not the least care about that, but left that entirely to them. This being done, they marched off quite satisfied, with their drums and flags, to vote without looking at the lists thus filled up.

Ledru-Rollin made a sort of feigned resignation yesterday, but is said to have recalled it at the

request of Lamartine. I have not seen the latter since. There was an attempt made last night by the mob to carry away a balloting box from one of the divisions least favourable to their views: there were, in consequence, doubled guards and increased patrols all through the night, but nothing happened, and this morning all seems quiet.

April 26.

I cannot conceal from myself that the great struggle which is going on at this moment in Europe is between the principle of republicanism and that of constitutional monarchy, and that France and England are every day more decidedly looked upon as the representatives of these two principles; and according to our views, not only the influence of the two countries, but the interest of the people themselves who are concerned, depends upon the extent to which one or the other system of government shall be found to prevail.

The profession of the present rulers of France, through official communications with foreign powers, is, that the two countries shall remain pacific spectators of this contest of political ideas; and of the sincerity of this declaration, in the quarter from which it emanates, I have no doubt; but there are unfortunately other influences

actively at work in other departments of the Government. It may appear a trifling incident, but the same "Moniteur" of this morning, which contains a very proper decree for the disarmament of the German bands on the frontier, maintains that on the national fête on the 4th of May the names of the revolutionary towns of Germany and of Italy are to be inscribed, and three figures are to represent the French Republic hand in hand with Germany and Italy.

April 28.

Although no complete return has yet been given of any of the elections, it is evident, from the various district lists which have been published, that the great majority will be of the party professing moderate republican principles, as represented by that portion of the Provisional Government at the head of which is Lamartine.

This result will of course be subject to various interpretations, according to the political predilections of those who may pass judgment upon it. My own impression is, that it is more social than political in its signification ; that it is principally to be considered as a protest on behalf of the owners of every variety of property, which is extremely subdivided here, against the dangerous doctrines

which have been held by the most prominent amongst the ultra-revolutionists.

In Paris the ill-advised summons issued on behalf of M. Louis Blanc and his party to the workmen of the capital, to assemble in the Champ de Mars to agree upon one common list of candidates, to be framed by him, was taken by them as an attack upon their individual independence, instead of a protection of the class interested, and therefore excited general resentment.

In the provinces the most predominant feeling was a determination that Paris should not dictate to them ; but if the elections there have been against the violent revolutionary party, it has not been in consequence of any tardy forbearance on the part of the Government commissioners, whose proceedings, I hear, have in many departments been most outrageous.

What the effect of this defeat of the demagogues may be upon the proceedings of the Assembly when it meets, it is impossible to say : many parties have united in this triumph whose future views are likely to be widely divergent ; some of those whose inclination is least for the Republic have been the loudest in their elective professions with regard to its permanence ; yet I believe the predominant sense of the country is to give that form of government a fair trial, with perfect sincerity, but with no great confidence ; feeling certain that if a reaction is to come, the longer it is delayed

the more certain will be its operation. In the meantime, unless he should be removed by the chance of some conspiracy, it is evident M. Lamartine will be the master spirit of the moment; and one must hope he will hereafter show as much consistency and perseverance in dealing with the protracted difficulties with which he is sure to be surrounded, as he has displayed courage and energy in facing the more violent dangers which have hitherto beset him.

April 29.

The "Moniteur" of this morning contains a list of the successful candidates for the Department of the Seine, which I subjoin, as well as the returns already received from many of the Departments.

The elections have generally gone in favour of men of every shade of opinion inclined to check the ultra-revolutionary movement, though almost every one returned is, for the present, professedly a Republican.

This would probably not have been the case had there been any monarchical banner which had the slightest chance of enlisting the sympathies of the people; and had there been any union between the different classes who disapprove the proceedings of the Provisional Government, those of its members who have made themselves most notorious for the

abuse of its powers would most probably not have been elected. Their position, such as it is, on the poll, is to be attributed to there not having been any timely organisation of any other complete list.

Most persons were satisfied with neutralising the effect of nominations they thought inevitable with other individuals of more moderate opinions. Creditable as are the sympathies which have created this majority, I cannot feel any confidence in the use likely to be made of it, in the way of establishing a constitution which can offer to the country the securities of a settled Government.

And my doubts are very much increased by this circumstance, that, in conversing with me upon the result of the elections, M. Lamartine entered into some explanations as to his views of the future Constitution to be proposed to the Assembly. I regret to say it did not appear to me that he was prepared to make a stand for any one permanent security against the too certain democratic tendency of all republican institutions. He preferred an undivided Executive and a double Chamber, but on the last point was prepared to trust to the direct exercise of the good sense of the people, which had made so prudent a choice in the present Chamber; and, on the other hand, would trust to his own influence over his colleagues, as Consuls, if he were allowed to name them. He never seemed to advert to the danger of popular impulse upon some question as yet unforeseen with one legis-

lative body elected by universal suffrage, and he took no count of the certainty of intrigue in a divided Executive of which, however, he had himself in the short duration of his present power had some experience. What gave me the least confidence in the future march of the Government was, that he said he should not mind acting with even Ledru-Rollin, as one of the Consuls, if he had the nomination of the other. This seemed to me to be pushing the quality of self-esteem to an extreme point; and I am a little afraid that though still true to the cause of peace and order, for which he has been always ready to risk his life, he will be less willing to endanger that popularity which he values more, by systematic resistance to the establishment of ungovernable democracy with which peace and order have never yet been found long to exist.

The majority of the Assembly will certainly meet with the intention of forming a government as conservative as is consistent with the notion of a Republic; but I fear they may possibly be disappointed in the line taken by the chosen leader to whom they are at this moment all looking with confidence.

The public papers of this morning give accounts of the disturbances which have occurred at Rouen. I am informed that they were again renewed last night, and that those columns of insurgents who were defeated have since left the town in different directions, the numbers in each column varying

from fifteen hundred to five hundred ; the amount of persons killed on both sides being as yet differently estimated from forty up to one hundred and fifty.

ÉLECTIONS.

Ont été élus représentants.

(Seine.)

Lamartine	-	-	-	259,800
Dupont (de l'Eure)	-	-	-	245,083
François Arago	-	-	-	243,640
Garnier-Pagès	-	-	-	240,890
Arinand Marrast	-	-	-	229,166
Marie	-	-	-	225,776
Crémieux	-	-	-	210,699
Béranger	-	-	-	204,271
Carnot	-	-	-	195,608
Bethinont	-	-	-	189,252
Duvivier	-	-	-	182,175
Lasteyrie	-	-	-	165,156
Vavin	-	-	-	151,103
Cavaignac	-	-	-	144,187
Berger	-	-	-	136,660
Pagnerre	-	-	-	136,117
Buchez	-	-	-	135,678
Corinenin	-	-	-	135,050
Carbon	-	-	-	135,043
Caussidière	-	-	-	133,775
Albert	-	-	-	133,041

Wolowski	-	-	-	132,333
Peupin	-	-	-	131,969
Ledru-Rollin	-	-	-	131,587
Schmit	-	-	-	124,383
F ^d . Flocon	-	-	-	121,864
L. Blanc	-	-	-	121,140
Recurt	-	-	-	118,075
A. Pertiguier	-	-	-	117,290
J ^r . Bastide	-	-	-	110,228
Coquerel	-	-	-	109,934
Garnon	-	-	-	106,747
Guinard	-	-	-	106,262
Lamennais	-	-	-	104,871

May 1.

At length it appears almost certain that the speculations as to the future of this unfortunate country must soon assume some definite shape. A rumour very general yesterday, that the meeting of the National Assembly was to be postponed, turned out to be entirely without foundation. On Thursday next, the day fixed, M. Dupont de l'Eure, as President of the Provisional Government, will read a Report from himself and his colleagues as to their proceedings, in which upon giving their resignation they will propose that two Commissions shall be at once appointed; one to be called the Commission of Government to nominate Ministers *ad interim*, the other a Commission for forming a Constitution, and to this last all possible dispatch will be recommended. The general impression seems to be that a single President will represent the Executive, although there is a party for three Consuls, and the most violent section will not be satisfied with anything but an Executive Directory. The majority of the members of the National Assembly are believed much to desire two Chambers, even should there not be any distinctive qualification except

that of age. But the Provisional Government, including M. Lamartine, are understood to be prepared to recommend only one Legislative Chamber; whilst there are sufficient indications in other quarters that the Rouge party are not prepared to acquiesce in the substitution of the votes of the National Assembly for the *sic placet* of the Clubs. This morning the reports and papers of every shade of republicans complain of the result of the elections. Some cry out loudly against them as destructive of the Revolution; others view them with distrust, and in consequence change their own tone towards their more violent allies, as they feel at this moment more alarm at the prospect of political reaction than of national disorder.

But the language of all classes is now that it is impossible affairs should settle down without another conflict in the streets. If this is once to be taken for granted, it is to be regretted that it should be delayed. If it had arisen, as on Saturday seemed probable, out of the same causes which produced the outbreak at Lyons, all except those who wished confusion would have combined in putting it down. But if it should hereafter be produced by discussions and disputes in the Chamber, I am afraid the section of Republicans represented by the "National," who have only been rendered reasonable by their fears of the doctrines of Communism, may see in any governmental modification adopted by the majority of the Assembly the most imminent

danger to their political cause, as leading to the restoration of monarchy, and on that account again join the revolutionists represented by "La Réforme." In this case the contest would be more obstinate and doubtful; for though I conscientiously believe the Republicans of all shades to be at this time a decided minority, not only in France, but even in Paris, yet here they are armed, organised, and possess amongst them many men of desperate resolution.

Lamartine told me they had again this morning had a stormy discussion in the Council, some of the violent members wishing to accede to the demands of the Clubs to withdraw the troops again from Paris, and to place the military authorities at Rouen upon their trial for their conduct. Of course these propositions were rejected; but it shows what a Government it must be when such questions have to be discussed within it. He seems to me to be rather puzzled now as to how he shall get on if President; for of course he will be *muzzled* for the time, and not be able to maintain his influence by his speeches. He said he should rather like to be Minister of the Interior, if he could select a President, and a Minister for Foreign Affairs in whom he could trust. In short, he put me in mind of Shakespeare's handicraft hero, who in casting the play wished to play all the parts himself.

There is in many of the papers a statement that I dined with Lamartine the other day. I do not

know who put that in, but it was not true. We went, for the first time since the Revolution, to Madame de Lamartine's Saturday *soirée*, which we had occasionally done before the changes, but which rumours of riots had rendered not so agreeable since, and I suppose somebody thought the Republic would be benefited by turning that into a dinner. Not that I should have made any difficulty about dining with him if he had asked me, but we have generally kept very quiet since the Revolution; as, if we opened our house, there would always be speculation as to who was there and who was not, and suspicions of intrigue. There was no other member of the Provisional Government at Madame de Lamartine's on Saturday.

May 3.

I have received from M. Lamartine a circular with reference to the opening of the National Assembly. As in some respects the wording resembled the summons one formerly received for a royal sitting at the opening of the Chambers, I consulted with some of my colleagues who had informed me generally that they had been directed, during the Provisional state, to regulate their conduct by my own as representative of England, and I then told Lamartine this morning that the *corps diplomatique* could only as yet be present as individual spectators; that as we had, in point of

fact, no official character, we could not appear in uniform, or be introduced as a body; but that if the Provisional Government were kind enough to give us admission to the tribune prepared hereafter for the *corps diplomatique*, we should be much obliged by being allowed to be present at so interesting a spectacle as the opening of the National Assembly. Lamartine, though perhaps rather disappointed in his wish that the *corps diplomatique* should form part of the show, at once acquiesced in the reasons which I had given why this was impossible as long as there was no established Government.

And are we, after all, so near that settled Government as we had latterly hoped? There has, no doubt, been enough in the incidents of the last few days to account for the renewed anxiety as to the future, which has so soon succeeded the confidence temporarily inspired by the result of the elections. It is now evident that sooner or later there must be an armed conflict between those who are determined to support the National Assembly as the legitimate expression of the will of the people, and those who are desirous to attribute their disappointment at the polling places to mistake and intrigue, instead of, as it really was, to the honest exertion of good sense; in spite of all the intimidation employed in various places to procure a different result. There have been some very significant indications that the violent party rely upon again exciting the working classes by denouncing the tyranny

of all above them, and holding out to them the vague promise of an impossible millennium. The proclamation of M. Barbès, the Colonel of the 12th Legion of the National Guard, in which he boldly asserts that if the rich make haste to give up their property they will be pardoned; but if not, they must only expect what he understands by *justice*; the petition to the Provisional Government from the Club of Blanqui, in which he calls for vengeance on the National Guard at Rouen, whose acts, he says, exceed those of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew; these two documents, coupled with the language of "La Réforme" and "La Commune de Paris," indicate that if the National Assembly does not speedily show a determination that the Revolution shall not only be political, but social, they are determined to take the law into their own hands and proceed to deeds of violence.

I own I am not much reassured by the language within the last two or three days of the "National," which is assumed to represent the *côté droite* of the Republicans. There have been articles therein talking of social reforms as the necessary accompaniment to the pure democracy which they advocate. Whatever this may mean, it is calculated at this moment to encourage impossible expectations, and, if the majority of the Assembly have courage to act upon their own opinions, may bring them into collision with even the most moderate of the Government. It is not in itself at all consolatory to hear

from those who ought to know that this altered tone in the "National" is owing partly to fear; because on the resolution shown by the party whose opinions are there represented must depend the peace of the country during the next few weeks. It is right, however, to add that M. Lamartine still seems confident that whenever the struggle comes the result will not be doubtful. Nothing, I believe, as yet is settled in the Councils of the Provisional Government as to what shall be the form of the future Republic. I regret to say it appears to me probable that Lamartine will be the determined advocate of a single Chamber, and, unless the Assembly very strongly expresses itself in favour of an undivided Executive, no opposition is to be expected from him to the most absurd and impracticable principles on that head.

May 5.

The meeting of the Assembly yesterday naturally excited the attention of every one in Paris. The old Chamber of Deputies being quite inadequate to contain 900 members, a new building professing to be temporary (who knows that it may not survive much which it would now be treason to call temporary) has been raised. It is built upon the centre court of the former building. The *salle*

consists of a large hemicycle, with small tribunes all round let into the wall. The tribune for the *corps diplomatique* is inconveniently small, and not well placed, but we have as yet no corporate right to complain. The four best compartments and nearest to the tribune are devoted to the reporters of the press and to the Ministers of State; others, for which the members have tickets by turns, were quite filled with ladies; twenty-four opposite the tribune, and twenty-four above and behind it, were the property of the "Blouses," of which, I fancy, those gained possession who arrived first.

The Deputies who took their places amounted, I am told, only to 620, but, considering the distance of some of the Departments, and the number of double returns, this may be considered a full meeting on the first day.

The Provisional Government, as a body, were coldly received within the Chamber. "*Vive la République*" was vociferously shouted by a portion of the members, and was loudly echoed from the tribunes.

The appearance of the Deputies, as a body, was highly respectable, and though there were amongst them some strange figures and some wild countenances, yet, taken *en masse*, there was not any striking difference from the apparent composition of the last Chambers; they seemed mostly men in the middle class of life of some provincial celebrity. There was an obvious inaptitude for understanding

the commonest details shown by most of the members, which may have been accounted for by the novelty of their position, and which was no doubt increased by the great difficulty of hearing anything which was said in most parts of the hall. This awkwardness was exemplified by the manner in which the Republic was proclaimed ; some asserting that it had never been proclaimed at all ; others, that it had been so three or four times over ; and at last, upon a sudden thought of the General of the National Guard, they all adjourned to proclaim it on the steps of the House of Assembly in the face of the people. The leaders of the old constitutional Opposition throughout the day took no part in the proceedings, looking on, perhaps too obviously, rather as supercilious spectators of what was passing around them. The most unpleasant incident for the future independence of the Chambers was the active and noisy part which the public tribunes took in the proceedings : if this is allowed to continue as perfectly unchecked as it was yesterday, the interruption will occasionally assume the character of hostile interference, as once or twice, when a member occupied the tribune longer than they liked, they shook their fists at him, shouting “ Assez ! assez ! ” The public tribunes have been discreetly much limited in size, and therefore there seems no reason why the Deputies, in the exercise of their functions, should be intimidated ; but as yesterday they strangely enough

thought it necessary to leave the place of the meeting to perform the act for which they had been summoned, in the face of the Sovereign People, it is not improbable, should some of their future acts be more distasteful to that Sovereign People, that it may return their visit and invade the Chamber.

There may be some discretion in allowing the first intoxication to pass over before opposition is attempted, but it was rather discouraging to see that no one person objected to these interruptions yesterday, which the great majority disapproved. I am informed that the sitting to-day will be almost exclusively occupied again with proving the qualification of members. The arrangement with respect to the *corps diplomatique* answered very well. There was present a representative from every Court in the world that has a diplomatic resident at present in Paris, but almost all in plain clothes. The presence in the tribune of some of the ladies of the *corps diplomatique* also tended to remove any appearance of official character. The only members of the *corps* in uniform were the ministers of Haiti and Venezuela.

There is a simple candour, sometimes, in Lamartine's self-esteem which is peculiar and not without its charm. I met him yesterday in one of the lobbies of the House of Assembly, and he asked me whether I had seen their procession and arrival at the Chamber. I said not; that I had been already

in the tribune. He then said, "Oh! it was most satisfactory! Magnificent! Such universal cries of 'Vive Lamartine!' Not so many of 'Vive la République!' Not enough!" And yet he had been struck naturally with the enthusiasm of his own reception!

I have been obliged to send in a strong note upon the most unwarrantable proceeding of sticking up, all over Paris, in their "Bulletin de la République," a Tipperary address, glorifying Ledru-Rollin for having promised them the support of France in their struggle against their *oppressors*. I accompanied my note with a line in private to Lamartine, requesting his immediate attention to this, and I got an answer from him (also private), saying that he would have the despatch translated, and bring the matter before the Government to-morrow, and that he had no doubt he should be authorised to make such a reply as would be consistent with the friendly disposition they all entertain towards Great Britain. He said, however, he thought there had been a mistake; that Ledru-Rollin, when he uttered the words cited, had not been a minister or member of the Government. I thanked him for his promise to propose a satisfactory reply to-morrow, but said there had been no mistake. I was aware, as I had stated in my note, that formerly Ledru-Rollin had held this language, and that he was then a private individual; but these would-be traitors had recalled it to his

recollection when he was minister, and, as minister, he had published it to Paris in an official shape, which gave me a right to require a declaration from the Government, whether they shared these sentiments or rejected them.

May 6.

It is only necessary I should allude, in explanation of the offensive character of the publication complained of yesterday, to an edict of the police, that no placards or bills of any kind should be printed on *white* paper, except the decrets of the Government, and therefore the *Bulletin de la République* is not only dated from le Ministère de l'Intérieur, but is at once known by every man in Paris to have an official authority.

The address had probably been sent direct to Ledru-Rollin, and his wish was, no doubt, to call attention, at this crisis of his fate, to the fact of his being considered so illustrious a citizen in other countries; but I could not permit so public an insult to have ministerial sanction, without requiring a satisfactory explanation from the Provisional Government of France.

May 7.

On the subject of the Burrosleigh address, I have received the answer of Lamartine on behalf of the Provisional Government, whom he consulted in council yesterday on the matter. It is unobjectionable in point of spirit; protests, even on the part of Ledru-Rollin, as to the inference that he, as minister, maintains language he had formerly used; and though it avoids, perhaps intentionally, to meet directly the question of the publication, yet, coupled with the general assurances as to their views, I have thought myself at liberty to accept this declaration that the insertion was not official.

I do not know that Lamartine could have induced the Provisional Government to say more than he did on the subject, and their answer contains professions quite enough to satisfy me. The fact is, these "Bulletins de la République" have been the fertile subject of dispute amongst them ever since the Revolution; first, Ledru-Rollin published whatever he liked; then they appointed a commission of two other members to act with him, but they were his creatures, and, besides, had their own departments, so he again inserted whatever he liked. It is a strong measure for them to assert that it was not an official act; but I would not give too much importance to it, except in so far as I

have also thought it desirable to take this opportunity of calling Lamartine's attention to the impossibility of our permitting, when there is a settled Government here, and consequently regular diplomatic relations re-established, that these addresses on political matters should continue to be presented to a foreign government by any class of British subjects.

I see the English newspapers continue to make a great hero of Lamartine. I need not say it is from no want of personal partiality, that I cannot quite share their feeling; I have been rather too much behind the scenes. He has excellent sentiments, but no steady principles; and no one can have so much vanity without, in his place, having some jealousy in his composition; and at this moment his rising jealousy is against what he calls the *côte droite* of Government, a designation which we have lived to hear applied to the *coterie* of the "National." The one distinguishing characteristic of Lamartine, which makes him valuable to us is, that he is the only one of these men who really likes England, though they are all of them rather afraid of quarrelling with us just at present. Lamartine does not wish to separate himself from the violent party, because he hopes to make himself necessary to the others by appearing to act as a moderator; but, by the speech he delivered yesterday, it seems that he is likely to get too deep in democratic excesses, and thus soon lose all this

applause from *les honnêtes gens*, with whom his popularity depends upon his being considered as ready to rid them of the others. I have no great hopes of the Assembly, unless some other leader of courage arises on the side of order. I have just heard that the proposal to-morrow is likely to be a temporary commission of a Government of five; Lamartine at the head, Marie, Arago, Duvivier*, and some say Ledru-Rollin, to keep him quiet; others that the Moderates insist upon omitting him. Marrast would probably be Minister of the Interior, and Bastide, the present under Secretary, Minister for Foreign Affairs; he would be the *alter ego* of Lamartine. He seems *bon enfant*, though formerly very anti-English in the "National." This arrangement would probably make the clubs furious, and we might expect a row any day.

In the "Moniteur" of this morning are published the speeches of that portion of the Provisional Ministry who gave their explanations yesterday. Lamartine read the speech of M. Dupont de l'Eure, which contains a summary of the proceedings of the different official departments. It has very much the appearance, from its style, of having been almost entirely written by Lamartine himself. I cannot say, with the single exception of the declaration of inviolability of the authority of the Assembly, there is any other portion of that speech

* The General.

which I read with satisfaction. Upon foreign politics the disregard of the treaties of 1815 is much more boldly stated than in Lamartine's circular; where, although their abrogation, as a matter of right, was proclaimed, they were distinctly assumed as the basis of existing territorial arrangements, not to be altered except by amicable negotiation. Any doubt that this phraseology had allowed me to assume, as to the practical operation of this new doctrine, has been much weakened by this subsequent declaration.

Upon the Socialist system, Lamartine allows dangerous principles to make themselves apparent through much intentional obscurity of language. To-morrow the other reports will be circulated, and then the Assembly will proceed to establish another temporary Government, until the Commission upon the Constitution has made its report. There are said to be so many divisions of opinion, at this moment under discussion in different coteries, as to the form and composition of this second Provisional Government, that it is, as yet, impossible to speculate upon the result.

CHAP. X.

INTEREST OF THE DEBATES IN THE ASSEMBLY.—UNEXPECTED DECLARATION OF M. LAMARTINE.—HIS REPORT TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.—THE EXECUTIVE COMMISSION.—THE ENGLISH WORKMEN EXPELLED FROM FRANCE.—M. JULES FAVRE'S APPOINTMENT AS UNDER SECRETARY OF THE FOREIGN DEPARTMENT.—DISCORD IN THE ASSEMBLY.—RUMOUR OF WAR.—M. LAMARTINE CEASES TO BE FOREIGN MINISTER.—M. BASTIDE NOMINATED TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE.—CONSPIRACY OF THE RED REPUBLICANS.—THE POLES AND M. WOLOWSKI.—IRRUPTION OF THE MOB INTO THE ASSEMBLY.—LEDRU-ROLLIN.—PRIVATE PROPERTY OF THE ORLEANS FAMILY.—THE FÊTE DE LA CONCORDE.—M. LAMARTINE ON FOREIGN POLITICS.

May 10.

THE proceedings in the National Assembly were protracted until a late hour yesterday; and, as I was present myself in the Chamber from twelve o'clock until nearly seven, it was not in my power to write down the result of my personal observation.

The debates were of such great interest in themselves, and the result up to the last moment appeared so doubtful, that I did not like to leave the Assembly till the conclusion.

There was nothing very consolatory to the friends of order and settled government, in the manner in which the Assembly conducted themselves in this

their first trial. The apparent contest was between two different forms of intermediate government, but the real question was as to the exclusion of certain members of the present Provisional Government from any share in the conduct of affairs. It had been understood that, by some unaccountable impulse, either of supposed chivalry, or of momentary weakness, M. Lamartine had entered into an engagement that he would not be the Minister of any Executive Commission of Government from which M. Ledru-Rollin should be excluded. The majority of the Chamber had therefore hit upon the expedient of themselves nominating the temporary Ministers to act until the new Constitution should be formed, with the intention of excluding those members of the Provisional Government who had made themselves obnoxious to a considerable portion of the country. In the Bureaux a proposition with this view was carried by majorities of fourteen out of eighteen. The whole of the discussion had been in its favour as a temporary measure, though in principle it was, no doubt, the most democratic and impracticable form of Government. Late in debate, however, Lamartine unexpectedly rose, and vehemently opposed the motion, giving it to be understood, that if the Government was formed on a principle of exclusion of any of the late members, he would not belong to it.

I regret much, on many accounts, the line thus taken by Lamartine ; few will give him credit for

those romantic feelings of devotion to the interests and character of his late colleagues, which his speech assumed ;—right or wrong, it will still be believed that he considered the acts of the Minister of the Interior as of a most mischievous character, and the report will still prevail, that he has in his hands proofs of personal corruption. It was not at all necessary for any public purpose that he should have taken any part in such a discussion, which, on the other hand, delicacy prescribed should be left to the unbiassed decision of the Assembly.

In default of any natural explanation of such conduct, his enemies do not fail to find reasons for it, which, if true, would be injurious to the beneficial influence which it was hoped he would exercise as the representative of moderate opinions in the Chamber. This unexpected declaration of Lamartine followed immediately after a speech from M. Odilon Barrot in support of the proposition, which had produced a profound impression in favour of the motion ; and all Lamartine's well-known jealousy of the chiefs of the ancient Parliamentary *Gauche* rose to everybody's recollection. Whatever may have been the motive, the effect has certainly been to injure Lamartine's influence with the moderate portion of the Chamber. That party is naturally disgusted at finding that, by his personal efforts so cogently exercised, it has been unexpectedly made to appear as a minority ; for, upon a division, the motion was rejected by a majority of

411 to 385. So close a division, so complete a balance of opinion, upon so important a subject as the constitution of the Government, must weaken the Assembly itself; and this effect is increased by the fact, that by means of every sort of appeal to those who had given in their personal adhesion to Lamartine, a decision deliberately agreed to in the Bureaux was reversed in the Chamber, under an impression that, had it been otherwise, there would have been popular tumults in the streets. I consider the proceedings of yesterday to have been equally injurious to the influence of M. Lamartine and to the authority of the Chamber.

In the "Moniteur" of yesterday is given Lamartine's report, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, to the National Assembly. It is much too long for insertion, yet one cannot but observe, that this document has very little the character of a State paper, emanating from regular Government at any settled period. It is difficult exactly to understand what was the object intended, beyond the necessity to repress the national impatience by pampering their self-esteem in an enumeration, more or less exact, of the events which have happened in various countries. It is too evident that Lamartine has not had time to study very accurately the facts of this grandiloquent summary, else he would have felt that time is an important ingredient in the relation of cause and effect, and that to attribute the rising in Sicily to the French Revolution is

rather maintaining the habitual assumption of national influence against obvious anachronism. Nor am I aware upon what foundation Lamartine, in this official document, assumes it to have been decided by the Diet at Frankfort that Germany is in future to be organised under a President elected for three years.

It would be difficult also for Lamartine to reconcile the pretension that, in future — whenever called by an insurgent people, which may assume the right to establish its independence — France is to be the soldier of the democratic principle with another doctrine, elicited with equal distinctness, of respect for territorial limits. This must, at any rate, confine their crusades to frontier countries. I think even the Assembly considered M. Lamartine's manifesto as imprudent, because when one member moved that it should not only be circulated in the country, but communicated to foreign Powers, there was a very general feeling against the proposition.

May 11.

I concluded my observations yesterday, upon what had passed in the Chamber the day before, with the remark that I thought it would be found injurious both to the influence of Lamartine and

the authority of the Assembly; both these results, in the present state of public feeling and of public men, are closely connected, and in a very few hours the event proved that I had rightly estimated the consequences of the false move made by Lamartine in opposing the Report of the Commission, which had for its real object to relieve the Executive Government of the presence of M. Ledru-Rollin without any intervention whatever on Lamartine's part. The division upon the names to be selected for the Executive Commission placed Lamartine in a position which, three days since, few could have anticipated in the height of his popularity.

Number of votes	-	-	-	794
Majority	-	-	-	398

Arago	-	-	-	-	725
Garnier-Pagès	-	-	-	-	715
Marie	-	-	-	-	702
Lamartine	-	-	-	-	613
Ledru-Rollin	-	-	-	-	458

Causes of very different character may have co-operated in producing this result. Some of the extreme party, who are opposed to the nomination of a president in the future Republic, may have wished to show that there was no man whose pre-eminence in public opinion pointed him out peculiarly for that post. But the principal cause of

this sudden fall was the general disappointment at his not having shown himself up to the occasion. It was felt that he had forced his obnoxious colleagues upon the Assembly by a threat which none could brave at this moment, when the secession from power of all the leading members of the Provisional Government must have left no immediate authority which the country could at once have adopted. When Lamartine, some few days since, volunteered to speak to me confidentially of the course he meant to pursue—though he did not then push this morbid sentiment to the extent to which he subsequently carried it in practice, and only then talked of not being himself made the instrument to remove his colleagues,—I told him frankly, as he had mentioned this in a manner to elicit an opinion, that whilst he must always enjoy high personal favour from that varied exercise of his genius, which had made his name dear to all his countrymen, I could not but think some portion of his popularity was at this moment owing to a conviction that he would protect the country from those men whom all friends of order dreaded; and that any apparent collusion with them might shake that position which was so necessary to him in facing the immense difficulties with which he had to contend. M. Lamartine seemed to feel, and, to a certain extent, admitted, the danger; but his words were: —“ Vous avez raison ; pour trois semaines je serai

le dernier des hommes; mais après je me releverai plus grand que jamais."

It was no business of mine to suggest that revolutionary times never have anything of a resuscitating character. I then left him with an impression that he had already entered into some rash engagement, from which he could not free himself.

I observe some inquiries have been made in the House of Commons upon the subject of the English workmen expelled from France, and the assurances which have been repeatedly given by the French Provisional Government, particularly on the subject of advancing the money detained in the Savings Banks. The delay in executing this act of justice, so often promised, does not arise from any want of activity on my part in repeatedly bringing the subject before the Government. That M. Lamartine should, upon all occasions, except the last, have preferred to reply to these written communications by the repetition of verbal assurances, may be attributed to the multiplicity of business with which he has been overwhelmed; and, therefore, however irregular the practice, I was satisfied, by the tone of all his conversation, that the delay was only one of detail, and that he fully admitted the principle, that British workmen leaving France under the peculiar circumstances of the times, ought to receive back at once the amount of their deposits. He had given me to understand upon

one occasion that the only difficulty was to provide beforehand the necessary amount of specie at their out-stations; and upon another that orders should be sent that night by the Telegraph to liquidate the claims of those who were leaving the country for Australia the next day. I was therefore rather surprised to see, for the first time, in a letter of the 8th of May, a phrase which would seem to indicate some intention of limiting the remission to those who had been driven away *by force* during the first days of the Revolution. I at once thought it my duty to remonstrate against the possibility of such a limitation, which would neither meet the substantial justice of the case, nor fulfil the engagement already taken by the French Government. I am still in hopes that this dispatch of M. Lamartine's, written during the few last busy days, may ill have expressed his intentions, and that my representation will be successful.

May 12.

The nomination of M. Jules Favre to be the Under Secretary of the Foreign Department is not without its political significance. M. Jules Favre is a man of great ambition and very considerable ability, and is not likely really to

content himself with a subaltern position under any one, much less under the honourable, but less prominent personage, who is temporarily given to him as chief, and who was meant to continue the policy of Lamartine.*

As M. Jules Favre is the intimate friend of M. Ledru-Rollin, and shares his extreme opinions with much more skill in working them out, I have little doubt that a system of propagandism will now be organised through some of their inferior official agents in foreign countries, and the events of the last few days have given me much less confidence in M. Lamartine's power to repress these attempts. I regret to hear also that his disappointment at the mortifying position which he occupied, as to votes for the Executive Commission, has served to irritate him against the old opposition party, to whose resentment he attributes this result, and, acting, as he sometimes does, from impulse, to reunite him still more with M. Ledru-Rollin. It appears the

* I cannot mention for the first time the name of M. Jules Bastide without at the same time expressing my sense of his worth, of his sterling honesty of purpose. M. Bastide's antecedents had not been such as previously to prejudice me in his favour as a statesman; but, in constant communication with him during many months, I never had in any one instance to complain of his official conduct. It was the fashion of many of his more loquacious colleagues to say, that his one great talent in the Chamber was "silence,"—a pointless sarcasm, which, in my opinion, became instead appropriate praise, when that silence was maintained with firmness, and originated in a sincere desire to preserve the peace of Europe.

only bargain that the majority of the Assembly made with the moderate part of the Government was that, in the choice of a Ministry, neither M. Ledru-Rollin nor any one connected with him should have the Home Department. Upon this point yesterday morning turned the first great contest in the body of the Executive Council; M. Lamartine advocating the appointment of M. Jules Favre as Minister of the Interior upon the ground, very little patriotic, that as he was himself allowed to deal with the Foreign Department as he pleased, so ought M. Ledru-Rollin likewise to be allowed to deal with the Home Office. An animated discussion ensued; but MM. Arago, Garnier-Pagès, and Marie remained firm, and the two ci-devant leaders were obliged to give way, and M. Jules Favre was contented with the prospect of agitating Europe in an underhand way from a subaltern position.

I am sorry it should thus early turn out that I have not without reason put upon record my apprehensions, that the influence of circumstances would before long bring out the less favourable side of M. Lamartine's character.*

* The Assembly themselves applied a sufficient remedy to the mischief of the appointment of M. Jules Favre, by two days afterwards refusing to vote any salaries for Under Secretaries of State.

May 18.

Through the length and breadth of France, if there be one want more universally felt than another, it is the entire absence of concord in the sense in which it is opposed to discord. Discord prevails, as we have seen specially in the councils of the Government. Discord, I am afraid, pervades the benches of the majority of the Assembly. Discord divides Paris from the provinces — one legion of the National Guard from another, and luckily also is found to impede the combined action of the different revolutionary Clubs ; and yet we were to-morrow to have had all these brought together at the soi-disant Fête de la Concorde ; but discord has again interfered with its proposed date ; it has been postponed from to-morrow till the Sunday following, and it is supposed by many will never take place. Various reasons are assigned for this change, but it probably has been partly caused by the announcement which I have just read in the "Commune de Paris" of this morning, that the Délégués du Luxembourg, having been deceived by the promises made at the commencement of the Revolution by the Provisional Government, refused to take any part in a national rejoicing at events which had had such a result. In actual circumstances, perhaps, the postponement of the fête is a less evil than its continuance, because as these Délégués represent the whole of the Louis

Blanc party amongst the workmen, there might have been twenty or thirty thousand people ready for mischief dispersed in different corners of the town, whilst all those who could have resisted them would have been collected at the distant rendezvous in the Champ de Mars; but the resolution taken is not without its inconvenience and possible dangers. There are a great many agitators from the provinces drawn to Paris by the prospect of this fête, who will now have a long idle day in which to assist their brothers of the capital in working upon those who will have the disappointment of the day added to their general discontent, and another element of discord is thus added for to-morrow.

To-day discord has shown itself in a difference of opinion amongst those who had organised a great demonstration of the masses in favour of the Poles: the order has gone forth for its postponement till Monday. Nevertheless, some hundreds persisted in going up with a petition; they were unarmed, and were turned back on the bridge opposite to the Assembly by a detachment of the National Guard, and their petition taken from them by a member of the Assembly.

About this time the *rappel* was beat throughout this quarter of the town. A drummer, proceeding as usual on this service alone, was stopped by some workmen, and had his drum broken. Upon this being reported, another was started from the

Mairie with an armed picket. This incident, which may have had no real importance, nevertheless, excited considerable alarm, as it was supposed to intimate that there was some conspiracy, part of which was to prevent the assembling of the National Guard. Three or four hours have since elapsed; and as no adequate reason has as yet appeared for the general muster of the National Guard, people are at this moment inclined to designate the step as another instance of unnecessary alarm. Such a feeling is much to be regretted, as it must serve to damp their zeal should occasion arrive, and in the meantime it perpetuates ill feeling between the different classes of the population.

May 14.

The public mind has been so much agitated during the last four-and-twenty hours by a general rumour that the Government had determined upon immediate war, that I thought it right to seek for some explanation from Lamartine on the subject. On one side, it was said that the demonstration on behalf of Poland to-morrow would be so powerful that neither the Assembly nor the Government could resist it; on the other it was assumed, that as every one to be entrusted with the execution of the national will must see how impossible it would

be to give practical effect to it in that quarter, the Government would endeavour to divert the populace from that demand, by announcing that they were going to take possession of Savoy. Monstrous as such a pretension would be, I have already had to note down observations leading to show, that the most peaceable of those who at present rule the destinies of France have appeared to look forward to such a result as by some means or other to be obtained. I endeavoured therefore to see M. Lamartine last night, but he had been obliged to return immediately after dinner to the Council. I again tried to find him early this morning, but he had already gone out for a similar purpose. I have at last been able to have a few minutes conversation with him when he returned home for a short time between two consultations, at the last of which he told me were to be arranged the measures of police to be taken to-morrow.

I was prepared, in calling his attention to the supposed invasion of Savoy, to repeat the arguments I had formerly used, and to observe that if it had appeared to me necessary to caution him, under any circumstances, of the too probable consequence of the passage of the frontier by a single French soldier, that the seizure upon the territories of an ally without the slightest provocation or excuse would now be still more likely to lead immediately to very serious consequences; but before I had entered into this debate, and in answer

to my first question, Lamartine assured me that his language in the Chamber to-morrow, as to Italy and the army of the Alps, would be that their army was in the neighbourhood in case of necessity, but that the only intention was that they should wait the course of events, and should not stir unless actually called upon by the Italians themselves, or unless some very material French interest was compromised. If this last assurance is acted upon firmly, they cannot be put in motion at all, as there is no real French interest which must not rather gain by any change which circumstances are likely to bring about in Italy ; and, as to the Intervention being demanded by the Italians themselves, their present dispositions from one end of the Peninsula to the other must be very much altered before they are likely to make any such appeal. It is worthy of remark that, whilst Lamartine was attributing all the constitutional changes in Sardinia to the influence of French example, France is never mentioned in the speech delivered at the opening of the Sardinian Parliament ; and Savoy is congratulated for the universal loyalty which she had shown on the late occasion.

M. Lamartine, on the subject of Poland, told me that he should be obliged to hold very strong language as to the sympathies of France on that subject, but, as to the means of giving effect to that sympathy, he meant to say that it must be left to the Government to arrange the method by negotia-

tion with Germany, and with other powers. I really doubt myself whether there is much genuine feeling in France at this moment upon the subject of Poland ; much of the writing on this subject has long been matter of routine, and assumes no distinct idea. Its direction at this moment is in the hands of those who would propagate confusion wherever they could find an excuse ; very few have any plan by which Polish nationality could be restored under a form of constitutional government. But both upon this subject and that of Italy, I shall be very glad, when to-morrow is past, to find that Lamartine does not say something more than he now intends under the impulse of the tribune ; because my confidence in his discretion has very much diminished since I read the things put forward in his last report, even under the more tranquil inspiration of the closet. It must also be recollectcd that this document, objectionable as it is, had been penned before he had too clearly shown, by his conduct upon the formation of the present Executive Government, that there was a cause for which he would risk his life, but would not hazard his popularity.

This is the last occasion on which I shall see M. Lamartine as Foreign Minister, for M. Bastide has just announced the appointment of the Executive Commission and his own nomination to the Foreign Office.

The tone of M. Bastide's letter is good, and the
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promised line conciliatory, but some of the appointments, and the language held by other members of the new Government, prevent my placing implicit confidence in their professions.

My reply, assuming that my intercourse with M. Bastide was to be upon the same footing as with Lamartine, leaves the future quite open for any decision as to the form which those relations may hereafter assume. I forgot to note down in its proper place one other subject of conversation I had this morning with M. Lamartine at the last interview I shall have with him at the Foreign Office. I alluded to a speech of M. Flocon, the late Editor of the "Réforme" newspaper, since member of the Provisional Government, and now Minister of Commerce. He is reported to have said yesterday in the Assembly, upon an incidental question of order when the English practice was cited, "L'alliance Anglaise est à jamais brisée par la Révolution de France." This was in answer to an exclamation cited as coming from M. Dupin, to the effect that "L'Angleterre c'est le pays de la liberté." These words appeared in all the evening papers of different opinions, but they were altered in some of the morning journals; both M. Dupin's remark and M. Flocon's retort expunged, and rather a lame version given of what was supposed to have been said by M. Flocon. In the "Moniteur," which is the official Report for which Ministers are held responsible, the amended version

has been inserted; and in the "Réforme," M. Flocon's own paper, the offensive words are left out, but there are two or three asterisks put to mark that something has been omitted. I enter upon my journal this incident, to show that the real sentiments entertained towards England will sometimes, in moments of irritation, break out from the violent party in the present Government, and that at the same time there are reasons which, at present, make them think it prudent to conceal them.

May 14.

I think to-morrow will very likely be an important day as indicating the sort of reliance one can place upon any permanent diplomatic relations with this Government. If they yield at all to mob dictation upon questions in which international rights are concerned, then it is evident that all we can strive for is to keep out of actual quarrel with them as long as we can, and in this their sense of their own interests will for some time assist us. If these marauding pretensions are met by bold language, and intimidation in the streets by superior force, then the question of diplomatic relations with them may be viewed as favourably as a due regard for established usage permits. There is a

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very general distrust now of all the individuals actually in power, and this was shown by the Assembly dividing itself yesterday into fifteen Committees upon every possible political subject, who are to call the Ministers before them as their agents. This proposal was carried, though opposed by some Ministers, Flocon and others. It is very anarchical in its principles, but will, I believe, be found at present to work in favour of order. All these questions are in their bearings now much complicated, because the popular Assembly is so much more conservative in its composition than the Executive Government, that motions made there have often a directly contrary tendency than what would be inferred from their terms by those who did not know this fact.

May 15.

RASPAIL.	LEROUX.
CABET.	LEDRU-ROLLIN.
BARBÈS.	LOUIS BLANC.
BLANQUI.	ALBERT.
PROUDHON.	

These are the names which have been proclaimed both within the walls of the National Assembly and at the Hôtel-de-Ville as the new Provisional Government of France. I have passed the whole morning in the diplomatic tribune, which, as well as the rest of the Legislative Hall, was crowded by the

rabble of Paris who, as the representatives of the Majesty of the People, dissolved the Constituent Assembly, turned the President out of his chair, and have chosen the persons named above to govern their country. But I understand since I returned home, and since the leaders of the movement proceeded to install themselves at the Hôtel-de-Ville, that the House is still sitting and taking precautions for the public safety.

There is plenty of force, both regular troops and National Guards, only anxious to vindicate legal authority, if there was any one of energy to take the command; but the lamentable incapacity of this Government has produced an insult to all legitimate power almost as striking, and very much of the same character, as that of the 24th of February. It seems now impossible that it should end without a regular fight in the streets. At seven o'clock nothing further known, except that I hear Barbès, Louis Blanc, General Courtais, and others have just been arrested, and the command of the troops entrusted to General Negrier. It is said that Caussidière was also in this conspiracy against the Assembly!

May 16.

I had only just time last night to despatch to England a hurried, and, I fear, a somewhat confused account of the extraordinary scene at which I had

just assisted in the National Assembly. But I must now, by combining that which I witnessed myself with what I have since heard as to occurrences both earlier and later in the day, endeavour to keep a somewhat more regular record of the adventures and vicissitudes of a 15th of May that will, no doubt, always maintain a calendarian celebrity in France.

No member of the Provisional Government can say he was taken by surprise, whilst some were supposed to have a not entirely innocent foreknowledge of what was to happen.

A placard, signed by Huber, as President, had called upon the democrats of Paris to make a demonstration in favour of Poland, which was to unite at the Bastille with the avowed intention of marching the whole length of the Boulevards, collecting recruits by the way till they reached the gates of the Assembly. But on the 14th, in the evening, a counter proclamation was issued by the Executive Council, bearing all the five signatures, but evidently from the pen of Lamartine, as such sentences as the following plainly showed : "Citoyens, la République est vivante, le pouvoir est constitué, le peuple tout entier se meut au sein de l'Assemblée Nationale. Le droit et la force sont là; ils ne sont pas, ils ne peuvent pas être ailleurs --- Pourquoi donc des attroupements?"

In the morning, before I went down to the Assembly, walking to the Affaires Etrangères along

the Boulevards, I found myself behind three Blouses evidently belonging to the Ateliers Nationaux on their way to the attrouement at the Bastille, to which they had been summoned. One of them was saying to the other two, "Ils se donnent vingt-francs par jour. Ils nous donnent trente sous, et ils appellent ça égalité," alluding probably to the salary fixed for the Représentants du Peuple, and the wages given at the Ateliers Nationaux to the people themselves.

M. Bastide was still at his office, but uneasy at the last reports he had heard, and about to start, as soon as he had finished some signatures, for the Assembly. I therefore did not detain him, and arrived early myself in the diplomatic tribune. In passing by the front of the building on the way to the side door by which we at present enter, it struck me that there was a smaller military guard than usual, consisting merely of some National Guards and a few Mobiles. It seemed that the immediate neighbourhood of the Assembly was the only portion of Paris where there was no anticipation of what was about to happen there.

After waiting during an interval which to me appeared interminable, just as I thought I could hear the yet distant buzzing of a multitude, M. Wolowski mounted the tribune to put his "Interpellation" on the subject of Poland. Never, to be sure, was seen such a proof of the all-enduring, all-absorbing power of a set speech in the course of

delivery. The buzz evidently approached, and assumed the character of clamour; and, as M. Wolowski uttered the words "Restoration of Poland," a wild cry of many voices shouted almost at the door, "Vive la Pologne!" Still, with the same monotonous intonation, M. Wolowski continued unmoved, as if all depended upon the unassisted effect of his well-studied oratory.

M. Wolowski had always been rather a fanatic in the cause of the land from which he derives at least his name, otherwise his general opinions were not of a nature to connect him with such allies as those to whose advent he persisted in not paying the slightest attention, until M. Legousec, one of the Questeurs, who well looked that character for energy which had been the cause of his selection for his present post, ran up the steps of the tribune, interrupted the orator in the midst of a well-rounded period, pushed him on one side, and announced that the National Guards had been ordered to unfix bayonets, and let the people pass. In making a recital of occurrences which followed each other so rapidly and amidst such confusion, I always, of course, speak more doubtingly of what is reported to me by others than what I see myself. But it appears that this fatal order was the result of a whispered communication between M. Buchez, the President of the Assembly, and General Courtais, and it is impossible as yet to say in what proportion the stigma of treachery or timidity is

to be divided between these two. Upon this announcement, one's eyes naturally turned at once to Lamartine's bench, as all were now accustomed to look alone to him "to ride the whirlwind and direct the storm," but he was no longer to be seen. I have heard since that having gone forth with his usual intrepid front to appease physical force by the matchless power of speech, his disappointment was extreme when a stentorian voice cried out, "*Assez de Lyre comme ça,*" and the insulting laugh with which this was received being too much even for M. Lamartine's presence of mind, he retired disconcerted. Now echoing round from side to side, above, below, there burst upon the astounded ear, a discordant yell of human voices but a few seconds preceding the unwelcome apparition of *le peuple de Paris*. The first irruption of the mob into the hall of meeting itself took place from the public tribunes, to which they probably best knew their way. From whence, swarming like locusts, they dropped over into the body of the Salle still screaming, and shouting and tumbling over each other; they then rushed wildly about, apparently without any fixed object, till a vigorous attack from without upon the lower doors concentrated their attention upon that point, and without any attempt at opposition they opened them wide to admit their comrades. The word had passed amongst the members to keep their seats unmoved, and this course, under the circumstances probably

the best, was universally adopted. The mob that rushed in was of the most heterogeneous description, some few well dressed men who appeared to have authority over the others, but the greater mass were either in blouses or shirt sleeves, their coats or jackets being slung over their shoulders, whilst there was now not the slightest attempt to conceal the bayonets or knives with which most of them were armed. Very many of them bore banners of various descriptions. One man carried a red flag which had all the appearance of having been *improvised*, and only unfurled upon their entrance to the building. As the man held this up in triumph, at about the centre of the floor, a *huissier* attempted to seize it from him, when a comrade drew out his bayonet to stab the officer of the house. M. H., a member of great physical force and energy of character, turned the weapon and threw the man down, and putting his foot upon him held him there. This incident was plainly seen from the tribune above, but luckily it did not much attract the attention of the excited and bewildered crowd, or else one drop of blood spilt at that moment might have provoked a contest which would have led to a general massacre.

For some time the diplomatic tribune, to which there was a comparatively quiet entrance, was not invaded; and a Montagnard sat upon the partition which divides the adjoining tribune to prevent any one from climbing over; but after some minutes the

mob broke in upon us two, and crowded round us on all sides. The first man who pressed forward to our part of the tribune was in a very excited state and had obviously found the walk from the Place de la Bastille rather warm. The front of his shirt was open, his sleeves were rolled up above his elbows; he had a red woollen scarf as a girdle tied round his waist, into which was stuck a bayonet, upon the hilt of this one of his brawny arms rested. He was evidently got up for the occasion after one of the figures in the drama acted last year on the Boulevard du Temple, founded in some part upon M. Lamartine's "Histoire des Girondins." I had more than once remarked since February, instances of this kind of that aptitude for imitation which is so marked a trait in the French character. The drama had enjoyed great popularity, and had not been without its political effect in the faubourgs where it had been domiciled. Upon my melodramatic friend pressing inconveniently near, I appealed to him, telling him I felt sure he would respect strangers and ladies. He at once became quiet and said, "Oh, pour les femmes qu'elles n'aient pas peur." At this moment a young man respectably dressed and with a very good manner pushed the other a little on one side, announced himself as a leader of the new movement, and spoke very civilly as to our going or staying, as we pleased; but the narrow lobbies being now quite full it was impossible to pass with ladies, and I could not

leave without any protection some of my acquaintance whom I had found there, Madame de Caraman, Madame Peruzzi and Madame d'Este, as well as Madame Montalembert and a companion whom I did not know. My friend in the shirt sleeves looked puzzled at first at the manner of his leader who he saw intended I should be treated with respect; and then approaching me again with an air of patronising confidence, said, "C'est que nous voulons la Pologne dès aujourd'hui; demain ce sera autre chose: c'est notre système."

During two long hours from this time I endeavoured, in vain, with the best attention I could give to all that was passing before my eyes, to penetrate the inextricable confusion in which all seemed involved, or to make out precisely what was meant by these intruders who were such deaf devotees of the doctrine of *égalité* that they would not even admit the temporary superiority which he who speaks exercises over those who listen, and all kept vociferating together. The tribune itself was occupied by about a dozen people at the same time. Louis Blanc, Barbès, Raspail, Blanqui, the last of whom established himself in a chair in the centre of the tribune just below the President, and only allowed those to speak whom he chose, the members keeping their seats all the time but taking no part whatever. The attitude of the legitimate occupants of the hall would, from its calm tranquillity, have presented an imposing en-

semble, but for the too obviously helpless consternation of the President.

Ledru-Rollin now mounted the tribune, and at last obtained silence; for a few minutes it seemed as if he would have succeeded in maintaining his influence and turning the incident to his own personal advantage. He expressed the same feelings with regard to Poland as theirs, but added, how could any deliberative assembly take it into consideration unless they were allowed freedom of discussion. The moment Ledru-Rollin uttered these words a man in the crowded shouted forth, "And the 24th of February—What was that which made you what you are?" and in the height of the storm he had thus raised, Ledru-Rollin, shrugging his shoulders, descended from the tribune. Just then a working man sitting astride on the partition on one side of our tribune called out to a comrade, likewise mounted upon the opposite partition, saying that he had assisted in the construction of the new building; that he was sure it never was intended to sustain such an immense extra weight as crowded all round it; and he thought they had better come down and leave it to others "qui ont l'affaire à arranger." This naturally alarmed the ladies sitting in the front seat, who asked, with some anxiety, whether they could not now make their escape. The young leader who had before been so useful in his interposition, offered to go before, if we liked, and make a way and escort us

through the mob. We therefore started, our protector leading the way, there being besides my friend Sir Henry Ellis and the ladies mentioned above. I in vain endeavoured to persuade Madame de Montalembert and her friend to accompany us; she gratefully but firmly declined to leave the building till all was over. It had been an interesting episode in this strange scene to watch the expressive countenance of that distinguished lady, wandering from the threatening gestures of the wild men who by turns thronged the tribune to the quiet corner where her husband sat uninoved; knowing as I did, that if these desperadoes acquired even a temporary triumph which gave them occasion to select their victims, M. de Montalembert, both from the powerful daring of his fearless character and from the widespread distinction with which his talents had invested his name, was likely to be one of the first objects of their sanguinary vengeance. I must say that every facility was civilly given for our passage through this dense crowd, though the lobbies were inconveniently narrow. In passing through the organised mob in the southern court of the Assembly, I heard orders given for the occupation of the house by the main body of Barbès' band, with the intimation that too much time had already been lost, that they must finish at once. This occupation was immediately effected without opposition; the President pulled out of his chair, the Assembly declared

to be dissolved, and a Provisional Government proclaimed. Most of the conspirators then evacuated the Assembly, as they said, to get arms and meet at the Hôtel-de-Ville, and when the National Guards at length arrived they had no difficulty in clearing out the remainder.

It appears that Lamartine had till then retired for concealment into one of the bureaux of the building, having found this time, how inefficient, were his usual means of quelling sedition. The moment a hope of successful action revived, he reappeared, mounted the tribune and announced his intention of starting with whatever force could be spared from the Assembly for the Hôtel-de-Ville, which the Parisians, in threatening times, are accustomed to consider as the seat of Government, to rescue it from the usurpation of those who had announced it as their destination. He was then joined by M. Ledru-Rollin, of whose whereabouts since driven from the tribune I have no information, they set out together on horseback for the Hôtel-de-Ville, amidst much cheering and cries of "Vive Lamartine! Vive l'Assemblée Nationale!" It is evident to me that all along the route wherever these cries were raised they were caused by the revival of the expectations that M. Lamartine was now going to justify the anticipations of those who looked to him as the antagonist of most of the revolutionary results, though he had been in great part the author of the revolution itself.

Before he arrived at the Place de Grève he was, by some unexplained casualty, separated from Ledru-Rollin, fortunately * for himself, perhaps for both,—and the enthusiasm amongst the mass of the National Guards and armed bourgeoisie who had assembled, was redoubled, when it could be applied without mistake to himself personally. Thus supported, he had no difficulty in clearing the Hotel-de-Ville and arresting Barbès and some of the self-constituted Provisional Government.

May 17.

There has been nothing important in the Assembly as yet this morning. None of the ministers or the Government were there, and I left them balloting for the committee upon the constitution. Everything seems quiet again, but one can hardly believe that all these desperate-looking bands who

* Upon subsequent reflection, I retract the expression that the separation in the crowd from Ledru-Rollin was *fortunate*. Had they appeared there together I have little doubt that Lamartine would have found in the contrast of their reception the stimulus of assured popularity he requires to throw himself at once individually upon the support of the National Assembly, for which the disgraceful inaction, at such a critical moment, of the present collective Government would have been an immediate justification, while it certainly would long before now have redeemed, in public opinion, all recollection of his former error.

made such a daring attempt only two days ago can be entirely suppressed by the arrest of some of their leaders. They will watch their opportunity whenever the well disposed are again off their guard. The spirit of the great body of the people is excellent, but they cannot always be on the alert, and they require a united Government, no part of which they need fear as ready to betray them. In the crowd I heard a man say yesterday : " Il n'y a rien de mauvais que le Gouvernement ;" curious result of their short experience of crying " Vive la République." I believe that the political opinions of France are still generally what they were eighteen years since, that is *centre gauche*, and if these opinions are now likely to be obliged to wear for some time the form of a republic, which does not at all suit their nature, it is in consequence of the utter perversion of every political duty by the late dynasty, as represented by Louis-Philippe's administration, which has hitherto prevented a single person from reverting to that which is gone whilst detesting much that exists.

May 18.

Every day it is more difficult to find a satisfactory answer to the question of how will all this end. There is, by the tone of the "National" this morning, an appeal shortly to be made to all

Republicans against the old dynastic opposition, which they think are getting too much influence in the Chamber. But if, on the one hand, the events of Monday last cut off from the governing power almost all who before the 24th of February had shown themselves Republicans by their *acts* (and this last conspiracy comprises almost all these), and if, on the other, they will not have any who were not republican in *opinion* before that day, it is a pretension to submit a great country to the oligarchy of the smallest minority that ever existed. At the same time every one is playing a game, because these "Républicains du lendemain" in the Assembly, who think it right to nod like mandarins at every mention of the word "République," cannot really have been converted by anything they have seen since then.

Had Louis-Philippe had any great quality as a public man — had he been a bold-faced tyrant, instead of being distrusted, justly or not, as a political juggler — had his exit been less effete, I think some would already have been seriously turning back to see whether a member of that family might not be better than this incapable hydra, of which they are already tired, and there are those who think that a *coup de main* might still some day favour Joinville. As to the generals, I do not think any of them can do much; Changarnier, perhaps, the most likely man. Lannartine has gone wrong almost ever since he parted

with him, which I am afraid he was a little induced to do by jealousy at seeing too much of the conduct of the 16th of April rightfully transferred to the General.

There is considerable disquietude in the further part of the town to-day, but nothing as yet has happened. The regular troops continue to arrive.

May 19.

The Assembly does not make much progress in the order or regularity of their proceedings. They vote and unvote the same proposition many times over amidst an unintelligible tumult of interruptions.

Yesterday they had several times assented to the proclamation proposed by M. Renaud, and seemed to adopt it with particular pleasure, because it contained a paragraph implying censure upon the Executive Government. To-day they have omitted this very paragraph, either in consequence of the subsequent application of the powers of persuasion or intimidation, or, as some assert, from the President skilfully putting the question in a reversed form, by which those who rejected the paragraph thought, in the confusion, they were adopting it.

At present the Government have no influence

whatever in the Chamber, but there is a great appearance of the old dynastic opposition not having courage, after the scene of the other day, to take firmly the position which is open to them; and should this be the case, the majority of the Assembly, who are mere children in political conduct, will, from the want of anybody else to direct them, come back to those whose official position gives them the initiative of control.

May 19. 6 P.M.

To-day's sitting looks rather more as if the Assembly would not, as yet, turn upon their own creation (the Commission), though there are some very bad stories in circulation as to the dealings of some of the Government with the conspirators.

The composition of the Committee on the Constitution is very good. There are hardly any of the very violent party upon it, and almost all the leading men of the *gauche*.

May 20.

There has been nothing very important in the Assembly to-day. There was an answer of Lamartine's to a question put, that he knew nothing of

an alliance against France by the other four great European powers. He took that opportunity to say that the disposition shown by foreign powers generally was quite at variance with such a supposition. There were two rather ludicrous incidents. One of the Questeurs suggested that the members should all wear a red ribbon with a medal in their button-hole, that they might be known, as he had more than once had to turn strangers out, who had seated themselves on the benches.

Then the President proceeded to read a letter from a member, to the effect that finding his seat incompatible with his functions he begged to resign it. When they came to the name the man himself started up, saying, "C'est faux ! c'est faux !" in great agony, and it turned out to be a forgery. If there had been as much noise at that moment as there generally is, the hoax would not have been detected, and the man would have found a new election ordained.

There was a very close division upon the question whether to-morrow they should wear their scarfs round their waist or on their shoulder.

May 22.

I thought it important to confirm the assurance I had received from M. Lamartine, that it was not

the intention of the Provisional Government to confiscate the private property of the Orleans family, and this I did by distinctly coming to the same understanding with his successor; in reply to my observations M. Bastide stated that it certainly was not the intention of the Government of the Republic to take any measures of spoliation with regard to the private property of the royal family. M. Bastide added that he owned his own opinion was, that what was called the *domaine privé* might, in conformity with the ancient laws of France, be treated as public property ; because, when Louis-Philippe ascended the throne, that property, by those laws no longer belonged to him individually, and he had continued to save his rights in it by a device which he himself should not have been inclined to respect, but certainly the majority of the Assembly seemed disposed to deal more liberally on this subject. I said, that without, of course, presuming to pronounce an opinion as to the legal bearing of this subject, I rejoiced that a great country was likely to treat with spontaneous generosity any doubtful claims ; they could not feel the sacrifice, and due credit would be given to them for a prompt decision on this subject. M. Bastide said he believed, upon the whole, it would be the wisest course to make no exceptions in the restoration of what might be considered private property. As to the fortunes of the Princes,

and still more as to the dower of the Princesses, there could be no doubt with respect to them.

The Fête, so called, de la Concorde, passed off without any disturbance, and was much favoured by the weather. This really barbarous republican extravagance, senseless in its design and joyless in its progress, is supposed, at a moment of general distress, to have squandered more money in a few hours than in many countries the regulated splendour of royal *apanages* would cost in a year.

The French people are notoriously fond of a fête, but they seemed to feel all the absurdity and inopportuneness of this. It was a singular tribute to the Republic that the manufactures of exactly those articles of luxury which since its establishment have been entirely without a market should be paraded in small numbers in the *cortége*. The Government papers, I observe, speak of the enthusiasm of the population. I never myself once heard the cry of "Vive la République," and the same statement was made to me by many persons who, from being in the National Guards, had more opportunity of ascertaining the point in different localities.

It seems improbable that this should have been literally the fact, but certainly the prevalent cry was, "Vive l'Assemblée Nationale," which has been taken up as in opposition to the Government and the violent Republicans. I should remark

that the most turbulent portion of the population, had, under different denominations, announced their intention of not taking the part assigned them in the programme, from dissatisfaction that the promises made in February had not been kept. In the evening there was really a most beautiful illumination in the Champs Elysées, and the fineness of the night made immense crowds of the bourgeoisie and the better disposed of the workmen forget for a time their cares in an evening promenade ; but it is a curious commentary upon the Fête de la Concorde that the perfect order which prevailed at this end of the town was procured by still more brilliant fireworks being given on the Place de la Bastille, where all the population of the crowded faubourgs were kept, so that, even at this moment the people were divided, as it were, into opposite camps.

Though there were some pretensions advanced in the last discussion on foreign politics, to which exception might justly be taken, repeated as they have been in every manifesto since the Revolution of February, and expressions used which might well have been spared, yet the general tone of the Assembly was decidedly pacific, and the declarations distinctly made on the subject of peace by M. Lamartine formed the part of his speech which found most favour with his auditory.

He had rather a difficult task to perform, because having, in his last Report on Foreign Affairs,

with a careless disregard of chronological difficulties, attributed most of the reform movements in Italy to the force of French example! he now courageously undertook to explain that the predominant feeling throughout Italy was dread of French interference; that not only had every Government, from one end of the peninsula to the other, made diplomatic communications to that effect, but that even the Republican party in Milan, a minority, as it avowed itself to be, felt that all chance of attaining its object by moral influence would be destroyed if any step taken by the French threatened the national independence. M. Lamartine, it is true, concluded by stating the amount of the force which had been collected, and that France would never permit the re-establishment of the yoke of Austria in the North of Italy, but this declaration was reduced to its real signification by the communications which he had just read, as having passed between the Sardinian ambassador and himself on this subject. In answer to energetic remonstrances, every way so creditable to the Marquis Brignole, M. Lamartine had given distinct pledges, which he read to the Chamber, that the Sardinian territory should be respected, and that no step at variance with its inviolability should be taken, except at the desire of the King of Sardinia.

The true interpretation was put upon the words of M. Lamartine by the Committee on Foreign Affairs, which, rejecting, both with reference to

Poland and Italy, all propositions which might commit the Government to a warlike attitude, recommended the continuance of those diplomatic exertions which had been referred to on both these points; and, in regard to Poland, even the expressions were hardly more precise than the annual paragraph in the address voted during the reign of Louis-Philippe.*

* I did not expect to have had occasion to revert to M. Lamartine's connection with the foreign policy of his country, upon which subject, after this day, he never uttered one word in public. But even whilst this record of the events of that year is passing through the press I have read with extreme surprise some statements made in the Seventh Number of M. Lamartine's "Cours de Literature." All the first part of that which he calls a "*Digression historique*," requires no comment, as it states in his captivating style nearly the same views of Foreign Policy as he will be found in these pages to have repeatedly conveyed to me in conversation, and to the judicious moderation of which I have borne frequent testimony. But I cannot tacitly acquiesce in the assumption that it was only in consequence of the Insurrection in June that he did not march an army across the Alps. After explaining (in my opinion most correctly) the reasons why he did not sooner interfere, he says he has been asked "Pourquoi donc l'Armée des Alpes n'est elle pas descendue en Italie après le revers de Charles-Albert, pour prendre le beau rôle de médiateur armé ou de combattant Italien, que vous aviez assigné à sa création et que vous aviez ajourné à l'heure où le Piémont serait envahi par l'armée Autrichienne?" Passing by the natural answer to this supposed question that Piemont never was so invaded at any time during the war, he thus replies: "Hélas! ce n'est pas moi qui vous réponds ici; c'est une triste date. Le jour où les revers de Charles-Albert furent pressentis à Paris, l'ordre de marche de l'Armée des Alpes fut préparé sans hésiter par le Gouvernement de la République. La fatale insurrection démagogique ou

communiste de Juin entraîne la rétraite de ce Gouvernement."

"La fatale coincidence de la bataille de Paris et de la défaite de Piémont engloutit tous les plans et tous les rêves dans le même abîme." "La fatale coincidence!" In the use of this phrase, as implying close connection between the two events, there is an unaccountable instance of lapse of memory. It was on the second day of la Bataille de Paris, the 24th of June, that General Cavaignac was appointed Dictator, and M. Lamartine's power of political action was thereby superseded; but it was only on the 5th of August that Charles Albert's proclamation of the 28th of July, announcing the fact of his defeat, appeared. The "Moniteur" and other French papers had been filled all the preceding days with the Piedmontese reports of alleged victories at Somma Campagna and Custoza; and it was only after this proclamation that the truth broke through these first partial reports of the events that had just occurred. It was, therefore, full six weeks after the change of Government, that the overthrow of Charles Albert's army, and its precipitate retreat, were known at Paris. And such an interval makes the maintenance of any coincidence impossible. In justice to the government of General Cavaignac, I must add that a very few days after the news arrived, the joint mediation of France and England secured peaceably all that M. Lamartine says he contemplated by other less innocent means,—"*que le Piémont ne serait pas envahi.*" Certainly, any one who contemplated doing more would have been unpardonable in postponing assistance until after defeat.

I would on no account be supposed to contest the assertion made by M. Lamartine, that such an order was prepared by the Provisional Government of which he was a member. There was, in point of fact, one day within the week preceding the Insurrection at Paris, when the unexpected news of the fall of Vicenza might have given rise to such a discussion in the French Cabinet, and the contingent decision might have been taken; but the very next day the accounts from Italy, published in the "Moniteur," were again full of confidence, treating the fall of Vicenza as an exceptional reverse. My object is not to dispute M. Lamartine's professed intentions, but, in

fairness, to question the apparent charge that a change of purpose on the part of his successors was alone the cause of results disastrous to Italy. I think, also, that I might have had a right to be a little surprised, considering the terms of confidential intercourse I had throughout maintained with M. Lamartine, if such a step had been discussed and adopted without the slightest communication to myself. But, it is said, the order was prepared as soon as Charles Albert's reverses were foreseen (*pressentis*). The Executive Commission never, up to the moment of their forced retreat from power, gave any symptom, either in public or private, that they themselves foresaw such a catastrophe. And as they could not act without the assent of the Assembly, it might have been expected that they would not only have prepared the order, but have a little prepared the public mind for its execution both in Italy and in France.

But, on the contrary, the reports under the head of Italian News, published in the "Moniteur," up to the 24th of June, gave the most glowing accounts of the prospects of the campaign. There had been but one solitary reverse on the side which had their good wishes—the surrender of Vicenza; but after this was known, and on the eve of the struggle in the streets of Paris, the "Moniteur" copied and gave to the world the Piedmontese statement of the imminent attack of Verona, one of the last strongholds of Austria in Italy. This attack, it was stated, had been delayed by strategic combinations, but the utmost confidence was expressed as to the result.

It is also rather an important element for consideration, when the Insurrection of June is made answerable for the destruction of "tous les plans et tous les rêves," how far the state of feeling in Italy would at that time have warranted the execution of the order said to have been already prepared to march the Army of the Alps to their assistance. At the beginning of July the "Moniteur" published a speech of a well-known Italian patriot, Signor Farini, pronounced in the Chamber of Deputies at Rome, when, on the very day (as it so happened) that the Executive Commission was driven from power, he used these words: "Nos paroles doivent faire comprendre que nous sommes loin de désirer que les armes

Françaises entrent en Italie, pour nous sauver. C'est avec nos propres forces que nous devons conquérir notre indépendance. Assez et trop longtemps l'Italie a été un champ ouvert aux ambitions des puissances étrangères."

During the whole of the month of July we heard of nothing but of the sieges of Verona and of Mantua constantly progressing, of the inaction of the Austrian army, and of the union of the whole of the North of Italy, agreed to at Venice, at Milan, and at Turin. When, then, was the moment during this interval, had M. Lamartine remained in power, that he would have marched his army to the rescue?

I could not, whilst giving to the world what I believe to be a faithful account of the events of that year, pass entirely without notice such an anachronism on the part of one of the principal actors in these events.

It is evident that, in the lapse of years, M. Lamartine has made some confusion between generous aspirations formed in his subsequent retreat and resolves actually taken while still in power. I may, however, be permitted to add that, in that line of policy which he followed whilst in office, he practically gave more considerate proofs of his love for Italy than this hasty retrospect of his first impulses would now convey.

CHAP. XI.

FEARS OF THE ASSEMBLY.—RELATIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT WITH THE ATELIERS NATIONAUX.—SEIZURE OF M. ÉMILE THOMAS.—THE GOVERNMENT AND THE ASSEMBLY.—THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL DEFEATED.—OPINIONS ENTERTAINED IN ENGLAND OF FRENCH AFFAIRS.—THE YOUNGER BRANCH OF THE HOUSE OF BOURBON PROSCRIBED.—THE REPUBLIC RECOGNISED BY BELGIUM.—SENSATION RESPECTING M. ÉMILE THOMAS.—M. XAVIER DURRIEU'S SPEECH ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS.—PROPOSED PROSECUTION OF M. LOUIS BLANC.—CONVERSATION WITH M. BASTIDE.—THE CHARACTER OF M. CRÉMIEUX SERIOUSLY INVOLVED.—ELECTION FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF THE SEINE.—STATE OF THE ATELIERS NATIONAUX.

May 22.

THERE is a report that either to-day or to-morrow the Assembly mean to reject the proposition of the Government, that all arrangements for their defence shall be left to the Minister of War. If this is done, the Executive Council mean to take it as a vote of want of confidence, and to resign. It is added that the Assembly thinks it has reason to believe that the Government meditate a *coup de main* against them shortly, and, therefore, take this precaution.

Should this be so, they would then probably only name a Ministry *ad interim* themselves, as was proposed in the first instance; and this would

of course postpone the question of regular diplomatic relations.

The report of the Committee of the Assembly upon the relations between that body and the Executive Council, after having been announced yesterday as prepared and placed in the order of the day for this day, has been again postponed until Monday. Report assigns two different reasons for this suspense. One that a further attempt is to be made at accommodation between the Assembly and Government; another that intelligence had been received of the intention of the workmen employed in the Ateliers Nationaux to march upon the Assembly, and it was, therefore, desirable that any such attempt should not find the Executive power in a state of disorganisation. Be this as it may, the Assembly has adjourned at an unusually early hour, and as I returned from it, I found one regiment of the line, a squadron of dragoons, and two legions of the Garde Mobile drawn up under arms guarding the approaches to the Assembly. All, however, at present appears perfectly tranquil.

During the last eight and forty hours, Paris has been kept in constant agitation by conflicting reports as to the actual state of the relations of the Government with the hundred thousand workmen employed in the Ateliers Nationaux. It is a curious fact, that the appointed chief of this body, M. Émile Thomas, who was hitherto supposed to enjoy the confidence of those who employed him,

was, in the dead of night, seized and carried off, with all the mystery which, under the *ancien régime*, belonged to *Lettres de Cachet*. I will not repeat all the various conjectures to which this act has given rise, — that explanation will be given this day in the Assembly; but I suppose it can only come on late in the afternoon; as, with so many questions vitally affecting the safety of life and property, with the varied functions of a constituent Assembly pressing upon its attention, that body does not meet until an unusually late hour to-day, in order that they may appoint a commission to prepare a law of divorce. In the meantime, I conclude that an alarming demonstration is expected on the part of the workmen, as the *rappel* for the National Guard was beat this morning at five o'clock, and troops are assembling in the Champs Elysées.

May 24.

We have still the chance of seeing the Government thrown over by the Assembly either to-day or to-morrow, but the majority there is not stout, and they will perhaps quail before the responsibility of establishing another temporary Government. The want of moral courage to resist whatever may appear the popular impulse, or to face any contingent danger, strikes me every day more

forcibly as the characteristic of the French. Many a man who would stand to be shot at across a table does not dare to risk political proscription; and therefore it is that everything they most disapprove has been submitted to without a murmur. There was some talk to-day of modifying the Report of the Commission upon the functions of the Executive Council, in a manner which might make it acceptable to them, or at least avert their resignation.

Almost everything was put off in the Assembly till to-morrow. I hear there were many creditable letters read from the Prince de Joinville and the other princes before I came in, but I fear the Assembly will, nevertheless, vote their exile, which no one approves, and which the Government proposed in order to divert attention from themselves to supposed projects of reaction. Molé, who has watched all this with great equanimity, says that it is impossible now the Republic can last long. At the same time, it will cost the French much to own they have been completely wrong in the example they pretended to set to the world. However, events are gradually preparing them for this. It was a bitter pill for their vanity to swallow, when Lamartine was obliged to demonstrate to them from the tribune, that from one end of Italy to the other, all openly repudiated their assistance.

The Commission have adopted the most vague, and, therefore, harmless resolution about Poland. They hope the Executive Council will continue

to "carry out the wishes of the Assembly, by making every effort to maintain fraternal relations with Germany, and to procure the independence of Poland and the freedom of Italy."

May 24. 6 p.m.

I have just returned from the Assembly, where the question as to the relations between the Executive Council and that body has just been decided in a manner that may perhaps be called a compromise, but which is in substance a complete defeat to the Government, and a rejection of all the material part of the proposed decree. Yesterday the first portion was decided, relating to the question as to whether they should be obliged to attend the debates. The Council had proposed that their attendance should be dispensed with altogether, except when called by a special vote of the majority of the Assembly; that body has decided instead, that it shall be in the power of a requisition of forty members out of the nine hundred to require their attendance at any time.

The second point was more important, because it was held to involve an indirect blame upon their conduct on the 15th of May, and a consequent distrust for the future. The Government proposed that all the command of the troops in the neighbourhood of the Assembly, which might be ne-

cessary for its defence, should be under their control, leaving to the President merely the power to direct the *rappel* to be beat for summoning the National Guards. It is evident that under ordinary circumstances the change proposed by the Government was most likely effectually to answer the object in view, as the Council have under their habitual command the Minister of War and the garrison of Paris. But the 15th of May is too recent to make this delegated authority quite satisfactory to the Assembly, and they have instead decreed, that the command of the troops in the places surrounding the Assembly is, under ordinary circumstances, rather the attribute of the Executive Council, but that this is subject to the maintenance of the present order; that in all times of emergency or of difficulty, of which the *President remains the sole judge*, the supreme command of all the forces necessary for the defence of the Assembly remains exclusively with him. I have marked the words, of which he *is the sole judge*, because these were words inserted as necessary by M. Dufaure, after M. Billault had objected to them, as showing distrust in the Executive Government, and a disposition to believe that they would put their authority in opposition to that of the Assembly. M. Lamartine gave way, and accepted the insertion of the words; he yielded with a bad grace, and, therefore, spoke with less than his usual effect. He was indeed at once feeble and inflated.

The defeat of the Executive Council is made much more striking by the high tone which both M. Ledru-Rollin and M. Marie took yesterday on the subject of their not continuing in power if the Assembly showed distrust in them. No one, however, really believes that there is any prospect of their, in consequence, offering their resignation. But the Assembly, urged perhaps by a regard for their personal safety, have, upon this occasion, shown more firmness than their previous proceedings had induced me to give them credit for, and I trust the effect may be beneficial for the future.

I have reason to know a very erroneous impression prevails in England, that it is the extreme Republican party who desire to have no chief or chiefs of the Executive power. Directly the contrary is the fact. It is perhaps true that some enthusiasts may have declaimed in the clubs in favour of such a theory, but the real heads of that party, who are represented by a portion of the Government, know their own game too well. All the contradictions between principles and conduct, which render the present state of France so difficult to understand at a distance, arise from this circumstance, that the popular Assembly is much more conservative than the Executive Government. The latter are much more likely to attempt dissolving the Assembly altogether, as they did the Chamber, than to seek to vest in it the supreme power.

This attempt, if made, would, I trust, fail, and the Assembly, if allowed to pursue its task inviolate, would, through its commission, recommend a constitution with which the extreme party would have nothing to do. If the Assembly should be overthrown by armed mobs, with the connivance, if not under the direction, of a portion of the Executive Government, then the chiefs of that new revolution would require many months of arbitrary power for the action of terror upon the Departments, before they could hope to get any Assembly elected by universal suffrage which would not be even more conservative than the present. Should they succeed, the experience of the former revolution shows one that it would be under something of a dictatorship exercised by one or more persons, and not by the direct interference of a popular Assembly, that a reign of terror could be sustained.

May 25.

Laws of proscription pass lightly here to be often most unexpectedly recalled. The decree authorising the banishment from the French territory of the younger branch of the House of Bourbon was yesterday voted by a very large majority, after a short discussion of a superficial character.

This transaction is not very creditable to any of the parties concerned. It was proposed by the

Government, principally with a view of putting their opponents in the Assembly in an awkward position, and this position was accepted in silence by these with that apparent want of moral courage, which must, when the strange events of the last few months shall become matter of history, for ever affect the character of almost all the public men who have hitherto borne their part in them.

Six hundred and thirty-four members voted for the decree, and only sixty-five against it: but I doubt whether that minority of sixty-five, small as it was, did not exceed the number in the majority, who really approved of the measure they were sanctioning. The enthusiast for the Republic felt that in this act there was an acknowledgment of the instability of their system, whilst men of common sense of every party must feel that such a decree would only deter pretenders from attempts who were conscious they had no chance of success.

Most of the leaders of the *ancienne gauche* took no part whatever in the vote, fearing, I suppose, that in forcing a division, which was the act of the majority, the intention was prematurely to raise against them a cry of reaction, and thereby paralyse their future efforts.

There is no doubt that though the letters of the young princes were natural in their position and creditable to their feelings, they exercised an injurious effect upon the decision of the Chamber, because they made the rejection of the decree

equivalent to a vote for their immediate recall to take that part in the service of their country to which they justly laid claim. Now, as the whole of the National Assembly are professing at least to give a fair trial to republican institutions, no one could say that the actual presence of the young princes at the commencement of such an experiment could have a beneficial influence upon the result.

In fact, the manly character and former active service of these princes of Orleans were so far disadvantageous to their cause, as no one could consider their return a matter of indifference.

May 29.

M. Bastide this day announced to the Assembly that the Belgian Government had formally recognised the Republic, and that the Spanish Government was about to take the same step. Both these announcements were rather coldly received.

I have not thought it necessary to keep a record here of all the interviews I have had with M. Bastide on this subject since the very day he entered upon his present office ; though, of course, I have made a report of these interviews in writing home ; but as long as this delay was universal, I thought it unnecessary to take daily notice of their impatience here, which was a good deal founded upon what, in itself, constituted our most natural

objection, viz. the very precarious tenure by which they held their present power; this fact made them the more anxious for any demonstration which would give any appearance of that permanence of which they themselves must feel they had no great expectation.

I am convinced we are right in our reasons for delay, but the case is more complicated when the usage upon which the objection is founded is no longer uniform.

In the very first interview I had with M. Bastide on this subject, I thought I had convinced him, personally, that the expectative position was, with reference to a Government, as yet professedly incomplete, the usual course, from which, therefore, no unfavourable inference could be drawn; but he returned to me the self-same day, saying that he had reported what I said to the Executive Commission and their ministers. He had not found them disposed to view in the same light as he had done the postponement of any regular diplomatic intercourse. He stated that the French Government felt the difficulties of their position, that there was much susceptibility in the population as to the manner in which their revolution was received by foreign powers; that as this was no longer a Government purely provisional, which had sprung from the barricades, but one that had been adopted by the Assembly, elected by the nation, his colleagues thought any apparent hesi-

tation would be apt to be misconstrued, and that it might add to their difficulties in restraining the warlike passions of a large portion of the people.

I told M. Bastide that the difficulty which had been felt by her Majesty's Government, and communicated by me, was not at all at variance with the disposition to recognise any form of Government which might be the choice of the French people; that this still existed in its full force: I had already explained to him that it is contrary to diplomatic usages to accredit an ambassador to any government which assumed to be only intermediate or transitory. There seemed to me to be no necessarily unfavourable action upon public opinion in the relations remaining only for a few days longer on the same footing as they had for the last three months; indeed, I did not know how he would propose that accrediting letters should be addressed, as the Commission was removable any day by the Assembly.

M. Bastide said that he thought they might be addressed to the French Republic. I replied that, without being very strong in precedents upon this subject, I thought this would be without example. The most recent instances had been after the peace of Amiens to the First Consul, the other was to the President of the United States. I added that there was another consideration — he had spoken of the feeling of the French people, but they must also recollect that the British Government could not

entirely overlook the fact, that much had occurred, even since our first conversation, which, with the English people, must create an impression of instability here; particularly as to the position of this Executive Commission, when the National Assembly had been violated only ten days ago, and anarchy or civil war had, for a short time, appeared the only alternative; it might be thought in England, that such was a strange moment to depart from established usage, and precipitate a change in our unofficial but amicable relations.

M. Bastide again urged me much, by that desire for peace which he was sure we both felt, to do all that was possible to avoid a misunderstanding upon a mere question of form. I believe M. Bastide is very sincere in his wish to moderate the violent feelings which prevail, even amongst some of his colleagues. And two days afterwards I had a further conversation with M. Bastide upon the subject of these technical difficulties in the way of immediately establishing diplomatic relations with the Republic. I observed to him, that I could understand that there might have been some suspicion in the quarters to which he had alluded, in our continuing, *ad interim*, relations with the Provisional Government before the Assembly had proclaimed the Republic; because then it might be said that those who, for themselves, sincerely preferred another form of Government, were waiting in the expectation that the decision of the

Constituent Assembly might have been different ; but now that the Assembly had proclaimed the will of the nation on that subject, the continuance of amicable, though unofficial, relations, would, I should have thought, have been satisfactory, as it clearly proved that any delay in putting those relations into a more regular shape could only be attributed to the difficulties of form arising from the absence of any definitively constituted executive. I also begged M. Bastide to remember that it was not unlikely, in foreign countries even, an exaggerated impression might be created as to the instability of affairs here, and the bearing of this state of things upon international relations, since the temporary overthrow of all regular authority was ostensibly on a question of foreign policy, and the first act of the insurgents had been to declare war. M. Bastide said that there was some difficulty on both sides in dealing with the erroneous impressions of the two people. He was sure if all France could have heard the conversations which had passed between us on this subject there could be no ground for doubt or suspicion ; but he much wished, if possible, some overt step towards recognition should be taken, because there were many who could not understand another course, and more who were determined to act as if they did not understand it. I believe with M. Bastide that there are some who would not be sorry to put an unfavourable construction on our

attitude, and, moreover, though this naturally he could not avow, that some such persons are to be found amongst his colleagues, who would not be unwilling to distract attention from their own impotent position as a Government by exciting prejudice against any foreign power whom they could represent as not accepting the Republic. If there had been uniform abstinence from the desired step, and if precisely the same line had been taken by all foreign powers, I am confident the Executive Commission would never have had influence enough to excite any such general impression in France. The case is more doubtful when some do, and some do not recognise. But my language has been always the same, and will so continue, to M. Bastide, that, in my opinion, the difficulties are insuperable in the way of making any change until there is some permanent constitution in France; but that whatever the nature of the internal Government may be, so soon as it but professes to be permanent there will be no hesitation as to showing, in the most ostensible form, our desire to cultivate the most friendly relations.

May 30.

An extraordinary sensation has naturally been produced during the last two days, by the intelligence that M. Émile Thomas, the chief director of

the Ateliers Nationaux, had disappeared, and left no trace of his whereabouts. At first it was supposed that, as he had to do with rather a lawless set, some of those committed to his charge might have made away with him; but it has since turned out that the *coup* came from above, and not from below, and that the immediate agent of his surreptitious and forced removal was the Minister of the department under which he was acting.

It appears that whilst carried away by night in the direction of Bordeaux, in a carriage accompanied by two gendarmes, he contrived to fulfil the duty of a good son, and convey letters to his mother, written, as he says in them, to reassure her as to his personal safety; and these letters were made the subject of *des interpellations* yesterday, in the Assembly, by M. Taschereau, and elicited the most *naïve* and original, though somewhat contradictory, explanations on the part of the Minister, M. Trelat. He and the victim of his *lettre de cachet* are at variance upon the most important point, whether the departure from Paris was forced or voluntary. M. Émile Thomas distinctly declares that he yielded to threats of compulsion, and was obliged to depart without being allowed to speak to any one.

The Minister replies that he had been sent on an honourable mission; whilst, in his letter, the person to whom the supposed mission is confided, treats it as a pretext. The Assembly evidently

thought M. Emile Thomas mischievous and dangerous where he had been, and was anxious neither to share the responsibility of his very irregular removal by listening unmoved to the details offered to them, nor to avoid that responsibility by censuring that at which, *au fond*, they rejoiced.

June 1.

For several days, groups have been formed each evening in the neighbourhood of the Porte St. Denis and the Porte St. Martin. I have seen them myself, when I have been returning from some of the more distant Boulevards; and on each successive occasion they have seemed to extend over a wider space. They have hitherto had the character only of debating clubs in the open air, and have dispersed whenever summoned to do so by the patrols, but have soon formed again. They discuss different topics of the hour with much animation, and not always with much mutual courtesy; but they have not yet proceeded to *des voies de fait*.

Another *coup manqué* on foreign politics in the National Assembly. M. Xavier Durrieu, the editor of the "Courier Français," who had announced *interpellations* on the affairs of Naples, was violent, but ineffective, in his manner of stating the case. Many of his insinuations against England and other powers were received with murmurs; and the whole of his speech produced no other sensation than general weariness.

M. Bastide, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, is no orator ; and therefore his declarations, on such occasions, by the blunt manner in which they are delivered, sometimes leave a stronger impression than they are, perhaps, intended to create. Nevertheless his general tone was decidedly pacific, and his disclaimer, of any intention of interfering in any internal disputes, was precise. On the other hand, the demand said to have been made upon the Swiss Diet, to cancel the contracts which the natives of that country had entered into with the King of Naples, sounded like a pretension very much at variance with previous professions. M. Bastide afterwards qualified to me, in private, the nature of that communication ; and gave me to understand, that he had only amicably conveyed to the Diet the general opinion, that the employment of mercenary troops in foreign services was not in the spirit of the age.

M. Bastide also explained to me, that there were many false assertions, on the part of M. Durrieu, which he might have corrected, such as the presumed employment of the English fleet in the Adriatic ; but that the whole speech had produced so little effect upon the Assembly, that he had not thought it worth while to prolong the discussion, of which the Assembly had voted the *clôture* as soon as he had finished his explanation.

After I received these communications from M. Bastide yesterday, upon what had passed in the

House, he remarked to me that he was just going to see the Prince de Ligne, who had been yesterday, and had formally presented his credentials to the Executive Commission. As M. Bastide paused, I saw evidently that he wished me to say something. I thought it as well, therefore, not to appear to avoid the explanation he sought; and I said I could only repeat what I had before told him, that my remaining here after the Republic was proclaimed, and continuing the unofficial relations with him upon the same footing as formerly, was the best proof that there was, on the part of the British Government, a practical and *de facto* recognition of the Republic as the form of government which had been chosen by the French people as expressed by their representatives. That therefore they now saw fully confirmed what I had stated to M. Lamartine; a very few days after the Revolution, that Her Majesty's Government desired to maintain the most amicable relations with the French people, under whatever form of government they might choose to live, so long as, in their intercourse with foreign nations, they maintained those principles of respect for international rights which he had professed. As to the form, however, in which that recognition was to be put, and the time at which it was to be conceded, the invariable usages of England could hardly be expected to be changed to meet temporary circumstances not of our own creation;

and that regular credentials could not, consistently with our practice, be exchanged until some settled executive was established, to whom they could be addressed. In point of fact, it was evident the Assembly still kept the sovereignty in their own hands ; the Commission had no fixed functions, and no assured duration.

M. Bastide told me that he was personally perfectly satisfied with the explanation I had given ; that he should have been flattered, certainly, if, in answer to any doubts as to the nature of the relations of the Republic with foreign powers, he could have mounted the tribune and made, as to England, the same announcement he had done as to Belgium ; but he could see the difficulties to which I had alluded, and he was not disposed himself, in the face of these, to press any farther the wishes he had expressed ; and, after some mutual assurances of a satisfactory nature, as to the personal footing on which our present relations were to be continued, thus the matter is left.

The affair of the proposed prosecution of M. Louis Blanc seems not to have been very well arranged. The sort of indictment proposed by the Provisional Government, and submitted to the Assembly, as the ground of their giving their consent to his trial, contained nothing that was not known to the world the day after the events of the 15th of May, and consists principally of expressions which, when thus brought before the body who,

in this instance, were parties in the cause, were denied or differently explained by several members.

That which is required of the Assembly is only, in point of fact, that they shall not interpose the privilege of the accused as Representative between him and the regular course of justice. But they seem to assume to themselves the functions of a Grand Jury, and to be prepared to decide upon the evidence for the prosecution. By the tone of the discussion yesterday, and still more by the choice made of the Commissaire in most of the Bureaux, I think it very possible the permission to prosecute may be refused.

June 4.

And so indeed, as I speculated two days ago, it has turned out; but I doubt whether, in the history of any deliberative assembly, the proceedings of Saturday, with reference to M. Louis Blanc, were ever equalled. The demand for permission to prosecute, that is, for a suspension of the personal privilege belonging to a Member of the Assembly, had been authorised by both the Executive Council and their Ministers. The Executive Council had, with the exception of M. Ledru-Rollin, attended the sitting at which the announcement was made; as if, by this unusual step, to show that it had their support. After some contradictory

recollections of the words actually spoken on the 15th of May, the Minister of Justice, M. Crémieux, said that, however natural it was to have such generous testimony given in favour of an accused party, the question of whether there was any wish to refuse the permission asked, could only properly be decided by a reference to the Bureaux, where the question could be more calmly discussed. This proposition was adopted; the question was referred to the Bureaux. The Commissaires from each were appointed in accordance with the general opinions then expressed. They met and examined into the case, and, by a majority of fifteen to three, decided that the prosecution should not be interrupted. This report was presented to the Chamber, and, after some discussion, rejected upon a division, principally in consequence of the active intervention of this very Minister of Justice, at whose suggestion the reference had been made, and whose officers had originated the demand, naturally, with his authority. All the other ministers, but one, voted the same way; and though the President was certainly in error (not an involuntary one, it was said) in declaring the first *épreuve* doubtful (the majority upon that occasion being clearly in favour of the prosecution), yet upon the division it was rejected by 32 votes,—369 to 337. It must be owned that, if the Assembly were to exercise the functions of a Grand Jury, nothing could be weaker than the statements in the requisition upon which

the indictment was founded; and M. Jules Favre, the Reporter, seemed to me to make the matter still more complicated by his explanation of what the functions of the Assembly actually were.

He stated that it was their duty to examine whether the proceeding originated in any party spirit, or was dictated merely by the due course of justice. If the Assembly were to undertake this task, as no majority would accuse themselves of persecution, it could only be duly examined by considering the manner in which the accusation was sustained; and any such examination would, in this instance, have justified a doubt, though his actual guilt no one seemed to question.

The whole proceeding only showed what endless contradictions and difficulties must attend any interference of parliamentary privilege with the regular march of criminal justice, undertaken on the responsibility of the officers of the law, and with a full knowledge of the facts of the case.

As I came back from the Assembly, I had occasion to look in at the Foreign Office to try and settle some routine business; as I had seen M. Bastide leave the Assembly before I did, I trusted to catch him for a few minutes before dinner. I was very glad that I had made the experiment, for I had a very curious conversation with him, after disposing of the business which had brought me to him. He told me he wished much to consult me, as a man of honour, and of more political expe-

rience than himself, upon a personal question, which was, whether he ought not at once to tender his resignation after what had just passed in the Assembly, where his colleagues had abandoned him upon the decision of a question which had previously been settled amongst them. I said that I was much flattered at the confidence shown in me, still he would at once perceive that this was a delicate question for a person in my position to give advice upon; but he still expressed a wish to tell me exactly how the matter stood. He then said that he had originally been against the proceeding as unnecessary and impolitic; but that the majority of the Government having supported the demand of the public prosecutors, to make this appeal to the Assembly for leave to put Louis Blanc upon his trial, the decision once taken, he had felt himself bound to the law officers, and to all the parties concerned, to act upon that decision. What, then, was his surprise when he found that all his other colleagues of the Cabinet voted against the demand they had authorised, except one, who did not vote at all; that the Minister of Justice had even been indecently loud in his expressions on the subject, so much so as to call for a reproving reminder from some of the members as to the situation he held! M. Bastide said that he did not approve of his own Under Secretary* having

* Although the whole conduct of M. Bastide in this affair was most creditable to him, I should not have here recorded it had it not been circulated throughout Paris the next day.

accepted the office of Reporter of the Commission. He thought that no official man ought to have held that place, and he should have objected, only he did not know of it till after it was done ; but that, certainly, that appointment committed the Government still more to the measure. The question he wished to put to me was, whether I did not think he ought, at once, to separate himself from colleagues who had treated him so.

I told him, as he had put such a question to me as a friend on whom he could rely, I would tell him exactly what my personal feelings were about it ; — that if it was in England, where a settled government existed, there could not be a doubt such an act would break up any government, and that he had great reason to complain of the way in which he had personally been treated ; — but that, when this Executive Commission was chosen with power to name its Ministers, it was understood to be what was called a government of conciliation, in other words, no government at all as far as unity of opinion went. This did not prevent the obligation on their part to adhere to a decision once taken upon any given point ; but it prevented his suffering, in personal estimation, for his remaining firm in the position in which they had left him. If this act, however, gave him so bad an opinion of his colleagues, as to make him unwilling to remain jointly responsible with them for conducting the affairs of the country, even till the

Constitution was settled, that was a point of feeling of which he must be the only judge: — but I thought it was my particular duty to remind him, at the same time, that he had most important functions of a separate character confided to him; that there was great trust in his personal prudence and firmness felt by Foreign Powers, and that any change which might commit this department to some one of a different character might be the cause of irreparable evil; that, as he had expressed a wish to consult me as an individual, I would not have dwelt so decidedly on this last point, if I had thought what had passed compromised either his personal character or his public utility in his department; but that, as this did not seem to me to be the case, I hoped he would not act upon his intention of offering, at once, his resignation, but would qualify the expression of his inclination to do so in consequence of what had passed, with reference to his sense of what was due to the great interests he had in charge. If this was taken as he had a right to expect, he might thus prevent a repetition of what he thought disgraceful; but if he was not then satisfied upon that point, he might afterwards press his resignation without having to reproach himself with having sacrificed his important charge to personal susceptibility: if they did not show the desire they ought to keep him, they would not give him hereafter the support he desired in the course he proposed to follow.

June 5.

I have been present at a most curious scene in the Assembly, as to the failure of the proposed proceedings against Louis Blanc, involving most seriously the character of M. Crémieux, Minister of Justice.

He was attacked upon his strange conduct in voting against a legal proceeding which had been originated with his concurrence. He had the hardihood to deny flatly that he had had anything to do with it. In this he was distinctly contradicted by the united testimony of his two late law officers, who asserted that he had had all the papers submitted to him, and that when, at last, the Executive Council were deliberating on the course they were to take, M. Crémieux had said to them, "Henceforward, then, we act in common in this business."

It was a sight which, in less extraordinary times, would have been believed impossible, to see a Minister of Justice convicted of saying the thing that is not, in the presence, and evidently to the satisfaction, of 900 representatives of the people, and yet that no measure should at once be taken on the subject. Few would allow, after this, that he has shown himself peculiarly qualified to originate

prosecutions for perjury; but it seems doubtful whether he may not yet remain minister.*

M. Jules Favre, the late Under Secretary of State, exposed with much ability the miserable figure of the Executive Council in all this business. M. Garnier-Pagès could say nothing but that it was not their intention to interfere with the course of justice. The Assembly passed to the order of the day, without pronouncing any opinion one way or the other, as is generally the case on these occasions, in the shape of an *ordre du jour motivé*.

The majority of the Assembly cheered much at the attacks upon the Government, but seemed not ready to vote against it. They are desirous to disgrace, but afraid to displace it; the event will show whether this is really a patriotic course.

It is impossible to form any accurate calculation as to the result of the election for the Department of the Seine, which takes place to-day. There are 167 candidates, and only 11 vacancies, and nearly

* M. Bastide, it will be seen, in discussing the part taken by M. Jules Favre, still called him his Under Secretary; but, as I mentioned before, the Assembly had summarily stopped the salary, and M. Jules Favre had never entered upon the duties of the office, employing his unremunerated leisure in the Assembly in bitter attacks upon the nominal chiefs, who had offered him what he, perhaps justly, thought so inadequate a post, and, when they had induced him to accept it, had not been able to maintain him there.

300,000 electors. There was, yesterday, a general idea that M. Thiers would be chosen, in spite of the most determined opposition to him, personally, on the part of the Government. I confess, myself, I can hardly, under these circumstances, believe that he will be elected. It will be a most striking proof of reaction should he be so, while his rejection would be merely the natural consequence of the measures taken. The workmen of *les ateliers nationaux* are kept together, in their present organisation, by the Government, until after the elections, in order that they may be induced to vote for the Government candidates. The garrison, too, which now amounts to twenty thousand regular troops, is expected, with what truth we shall see, to vote for the list published by the "National" newspaper. General Changarnier's election is the only one which I have heard from all quarters, as quite sure.

The result will, probably, not be known until Wednesday. There seems no doubt that M. Thiers will be elected in more than one department.

June 6.

On the 3rd of this month, the Executive Commission issued a circular address to the Mayors of different localities throughout France, for the

purpose of being communicated to the working classes, which plainly shows the extent of their embarrassment as to the existing state of *les ateliers nationaux*.

It begins by stating, that these *ateliers* are intolerably crowded; that there is an impossibility of giving work to above 100,000 of those already enrolled; that it is, therefore, necessary that all future access should be forbidden to those coming from the provinces. The Mayors throughout France are therefore directed to refuse passports to any of the labouring classes who cannot prove satisfactorily they have a certainty of work upon their arrival in Paris; and, conveying the same notification to the working class themselves, they are to take care it is understood that whoever, notwithstanding this notice, comes up to Paris to seek for work, will be sent back from the Barriers.

The next day another decree followed, not precisely consistent with the former, but equally showing the hopeless difficulties felt by all of the Provisional Government remaining in power, in dealing with their own creation, *les ateliers nationaux*. Having the day before announced that more than a hundred thousand *soi-disant* national workmen had no work at all, they declared that this difficulty was to be met by substituting task-work for payment by the day,—an apt expedient when a sufficient amount of work is not extracted from a limited number of hands; but one cannot

exactly see what tendency such a change would have to diminish the extra number of 100,000, who are kept in utter idleness from the impossibility of finding any means to give them work. To be sure, a remedy was announced as imminent for this deficiency of work, by the forced removal from Paris of all who had not more than three months' residence there.

In the discussion upon the removal of M. Émile Thomas, in the Assembly, some days since, a letter was read from the Minister, in which he declared that the causes of this removal in no way affect his honour or his character, or the gratitude due for his services; and yet the Government published, in the "Moniteur" of the 4th, a direct attack upon the reckless extravagance of the late management of *les ateliers nationaux*, in which they state that, at the establishment at Monceaux, the Director had kept for his own use five chariots, four cabriolets, five tilburies, a barouche,—in all fifteen carriages,—and thirty-eight horses.

Is it not strange that, while this statement is made under the authority of the Executive Commission, every one of whom were members of the Provisional Government, by whom all these abuses were tolerated, there should be no shame felt by them at such a proclaimed result of the paternal care of the people on the part of a social and democratic Republic? And yet what a dishonouring confession that the hard earnings of the in-

dustrious should have been squandered, that their sayings deposited in national establishments have been for the time confiscated, not only to maintain improvident drones, but to accumulate all this needless luxury around the person appointed to manage the distribution of the funds !

June 8.

M. Bastide yesterday told me that he had exactly followed my advice in regard to his present position with his colleagues and the Executive Council: that his demand for satisfaction upon the subject of the conduct of the Government in voting against the prosecution of Louis Blanc had been attended to: that the acceptance of the resignation of Crémieux had been the consequence, as had, also, the restoration of Portalis and Landrin to the posts they had resigned. Bastide expressed great gratitude to me for having advised him against his sudden and indignant resignation. It is one of the strange anomalies in the present state of things here, that he should have consulted a foreign minister upon such a subject; but I always take care, with all who treat me with this extent of personal confidence, to protest against these being subjects upon which I can give anything beyond my own private opinion. Still, it is very important to keep Bastide where he is, so long

as the machine can hold together at all, for he is almost the only one of his party who is really pacific in his feelings, perfectly honest and straightforward in all his dealings, and is very anxious to have a perfect understanding with England on all points.

I had meant to have gone down at Whitsuntide for a few days to Chantilly, for change of air, but have been kept here by the expectation of the disturbance expected at the Sunday banquet: however, I have just heard the Government are *to forbid the banquet*,—a curious coincidence with the February question.

The result of the elections caused by the double returns is not yet officially known; but they appear likely to be everywhere very unfavourable to the existing Government. The choice of eleven names in Paris will present a strange mixture of opinion. The "National" this morning inquires with much simplicity what conclusion could anyone draw as to the wishes of the people from the selection of candidates made by the people of Paris? But there is a very obvious inference which can hardly have escaped the penetration of the "National," which is, that the people are almost universally discontented with all that has passed since the month of February. Not one of the Candidates specially selected by the "National," the organ of the Government, has any chance of being returned, unless we reckon two or three men, such as Changarnier

and Morier, who are placed on their list in common with most other lists; and these will pass as a matter of course. But their *rédacteur en chef*, M. Duras, hardly appears at all in most of the arrondissements; and M. Émile Girardin, who has no other recommendation in the eyes of most of his supporters than his spirited and uncompromising hostility to the Government, and whose whole profession of faith, placarded over the streets of Paris, consists in these words, "Je ne suis pas Républicain de la veille," was supposed last night to have been elected, and is, at any rate, within a few hundred votes of success.

The apathy of the great body of the voters is a striking feature in these elections. Disappointment at the promises held out to them, amongst the working classes,—general discontent at what now exists, without any definite project for supplying its place,—has prevented thousands from taking any part in these supplementary elections. Reaction amongst the bourgeoisie, and all whom they could influence, has procured the nomination of Thiers, Changarnier, and some of the ancient deputies of the *gauche*; whilst more combination than existed last time, amongst the ultra Republicans, Socialists, and Communists has, by the preponderance of their supporters in some of the worst arrondissements, procured the choice of some violent demagogue, such as Legrange and Lerroux.

The selection of Caussidière at the head of the

poll arises from a singular combination. Whilst he was supported by the same party as the demagogues above named, he was also sustained by the National Guard, in order to annoy the Government, and to show that they thought he had been unjustly sacrificed to the faults of those above him, on the 15th of May. It is also hoped by the party of the reaction, that he will make some disclosures hostile to the Executive Commission as the first use of his re-election.

There seems little doubt that M. Thiers will also be named for two or three other departments, and in the provinces the elections appear to be all going in that sense which is called "moderation" or "reaction," according as the conventional language of the present day is preserved, or the future tendencies of the country openly avowed. I was rather amused at Bastide, whom I believe to be one of the most *bonâ-fide* republicans of the Government, saying to me, *à propos* to this last election, "It is evident France is not fitted for universal suffrage."

But turning from these abstract reflections as to the future, in answer to my inquiries about the general uneasiness felt as to the probable events of the next few days, Bastide told me that the Government were prepared with sufficient force to resist any attempt that might be made against the public peace, though he anticipated much agitation for some days. But, divided as they themselves are

amongst themselves, and generally discredited in public opinion, their surest support for the moment is the spontaneous determination of the National Guard, in common with the army, to repress vigorously any designs of the anarchists.

Upon this subject a law was yesterday proposed by the Government against public assemblages, and was passed in three hours by an immense majority, though the Constituent Assembly of the Republic, which certainly, if considered in reference to the amount of discretion left to the authorities as to the extent of punishment to be inflicted on the offenders, would have entailed many weeks of violent opposition, and as to some of its clauses, perhaps at last a doubtful result in the British Parliament.

The equal rapidity with which reputations have sprung up and withered away during the last three months is worthy of remark, as not only a symptom of the times but a trait of the national character. There has been a disposition at first to take every man at his own estimation, and to exaggerate the merit assumed in professions, but the reaction against these false idols has been sudden and complete. Public opinion in France may be said to be peculiarly susceptible of these rapid vicissitudes; but the revolution of February, which brought into conspicuous notoriety hitherto obscure men, presented a wide field for their critical dispositions. After some vibrations of

opinion as to the character of individuals, the settled conviction seems now established of a general incapacity for the conduct of public affairs amongst any of those whom the new order of things has as yet brought into notice. The election of the first President of the Assembly, M. Buchez, was hailed at the time as a good omen for the cause of order; he was said to be a man of firmness and moderation. He was soon found wanting in moral courage, in clearness of expression, even in common firmness; and no one regretted when his month of probation was over, and no one considered his re-election possible.*

When the treachery of General Courtais had been discovered on the 15th of May, the appointment of M. Clément Thomas to the command of the National Guard was said to ensure the proper organisation of that body, and a necessary co-operation with the army. He has contrived to make himself odious to the corps he commands, and has offended all the army by the slight passed upon the Legion of Honour, calling it, in the most contemptuous tone, "hochet de la vanité," which, on the part of a newspaper writer improvised into a general, the veteran officers who had obtained their decorations by long service thought singularly misplaced. There are two men about whom opinion

* The President of the Assembly is only chosen for one month.

is still in suspense, who may either of them perform a part in the future career of the Republic—General Cavaignac and Armand Marrast. I have not yet had opportunities of judging of their capacities, but some circumstances have come to my knowledge which will make me watch with anxiety the conduct of both, on the first occasion when they are brought into prominent and independent action. The general, fortunately for himself, was in Africa the greater portion of the time when the Provisional Government was in power, and the former editor of the “National” is less implicated in public opinion than any of his colleagues in their misdeeds, as he, singularly enough considering his antecedents, assumed the character of the *côté droit* of that Government.

But the most decided reaction as to the estimation of any individual has taken place in the case of M. Lamartine. With all my disposition, founded on the personal associations of former days, to do justice to the brilliant qualities to which the cause of order was so much indebted in critical moments, I am bound to say the change in his conduct was so sudden and inexplicable, that I cannot attribute any part of his present unpopularity to the proverbial instability of the French national character. I am informed that the election of M. Thiers for the vacancy created in Paris has been not a little assisted in some quarters by the conviction that it was the nomination of all others

which would be peculiarly disagreeable to M. Lamartine.

M. Lamartine has not lately reverted with me to his own position: I am told that he still expresses himself confident that he shall recover his popularity, and to those immediately about him announces his intention to go any lengths with M. Ledru-Rollin to attain that object. Whilst M. Lamartine was still at the Affaires Étrangères, and I was in the habit of seeing him almost every day, he constantly entered into confidential details as to what he meant to do; and the evening of the day he had disappointed all his best friends, by connecting himself with the party of M. Ledru-Rollin, he took me aside, and at much length attempted to explain and justify himself, and ended by an expression of his conviction that in a few weeks he should be more popular than ever. I could not pretend to share in that anticipation, but every day accumulates obstacles to such a resuscitation. The fact is, the hostile feeling under which he now labours is a distrust of his capacity for the regular conduct of affairs, combined with suspicions as to the sincerity of some of his professions. I should be very glad, personally, if events furnished him with an opportunity of redeeming himself, but I own I now consider such a result as hardly within the scope of possibility.

I have just heard the official result of the Paris elections. They are much what I had anticipated,

with one rather important exception. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte has been unexpectedly elected. The list, with this addition, now stands thus : —

Members returned.

Caussidière	-	-	-	147,400
Moreau	-	-	-	126,889
Goodchaux	-	-	-	107,097
Changarnier	-	-	-	105,537
Thiers	-	-	-	97,394
Pierre Lerroux	-	-	-	91,375
Victor Hugo	-	-	-	86,965
Louis Napoleon Bonaparte			-	84,426
Lagrange	-	-	-	78,682
Boisset	-	-	-	77,247
Proudhon	-	-	-	77,094

There are in the eleven names six members of the *ancienne gauche*, three violent revolutionists and communists, Caussidière (whose nomination has no precise signification), and Louis Napoleon, the announcement of whose name at the Hôtel-de-Ville was received, I am told, with enthusiasm by the crowd. The choice does not include a single moderate republican connected with the party now in power.

CHAP. XII.

ELECTION OF LOUIS NAPOLEON.—ALARM OF THE BOURGEOISIE.—— VOTE OF CONFIDENCE IN THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.—— DECREE FOR THE ARREST OF LOUIS NAPOLEON.— FEARS OF THE REPUBLIC FROM HIS POPULARITY.— VOTE OF THE ASSEMBLY FOR HIS ADMISSION.— M. LE VICOMTE DE FALLOUX.—— CHARACTER OF M. TRELAT.— LOUIS NAPOLEON'S LETTER.— HIS REJECTION OF OFFICE.

June 10.

THE election of Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte not only in Paris, but in at least two other departments, has excited a considerable sensation; and whilst, on the one hand, much of the sudden favour with which his name has been received, in many quarters, arises from the general unpopularity and discredit of the present Government, on the other, the terror, amongst the bourgeoisie, of the consequences which might follow his election to either consular or imperial rank, may give an apparent force and a temporary consistence to the republican party. It is not impossible that it may influence the votes of the Assembly to-morrow, in favour of the maintenance of the existing Executive

Commission. Though M. Lamartine himself told me, last night, in conversation, he thought the present Government was so generally unpopular that it ought to be put an end to, he denied, at the same time, that there really were all the internal divisions within it which were supposed. He admitted, however, I had been quite right in prognosticating the result of the experiment he had determined to try, but said that his object had merely been to prevent the presence of two hostile parties of strongly pronounced opinions, in the Assembly. I did not exactly see what was the success he could boast in this respect; but as he was evidently discouraged and out of sorts at the aspect of affairs, I made no farther remark.

It is understood that all among the lower classes whom Louis Blanc can influence are in favour of the Bonaparte movement, but the ultra-democrats separate from him upon this point; and the middle classes in Paris, who would not object to any other strong Government, are much alarmed by the idea that his advent would be the signal for a general war, founded on a demand from the army for the natural frontiers of France.

The banquet in the neighbourhood of Vincennes has been postponed. But M. Lamartine told me he still expected some serious demonstration within the next eight-and-forty hours. It is very much in the interest of the Government to encourage such

an idea until after the important discussion in the Assembly which is to take place to-morrow.

June 13.

It was understood yesterday morning that the committee of the Assembly, to whom had been referred the question of monthly funds demanded by the Executive Council, had come to the resolution of recommending the adoption of the decree authorising the sum required. This was agreed to, after having examined the members of the Government and put to them a series of questions, the answers to which had satisfied the Committee that, in future, the Executive Council would fulfil its duties in a manner more calculated to meet the expectations of the country. The debate, therefore, had lost much of its anticipated interest, as it was known the Assembly would not avail itself of that occasion to remove the Executive Commission. But an incident occurred which was likely to change the character of the vote, and to give an appearance of substantial support to that which, in reality, was only a matter of routine. Although the actual question upon which the debate apparently turned, involved the continued confidence to be given to the Executive Commission, the attention of every one had been diverted by the increasing *attrouements* which during the last two days had thronged the avenues of the As-

sembly, all pronouncing but one name, that of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, some deprecating his supposed projects, but the greater portion delighted at the advent of something new. M. Lamartine had, during the first part of his speech, been listened to with silent attention, but with none of those marks of adherence which his accomplished oratory generally excites. During an interval requested by M. Lamartine, on the ground of fatigue, much agitation was obvious on the floor of the Assembly, particularly in the neighbourhood of the doors leading towards the bridge. Cries, somewhat similar to those which had preceded the irruption of the 15th of May, were heard, but with these were mixed the confused sound of many drums, showing that this time preparations had been made for resistance; reports were brought to our tribune that a pistol had been fired, and an officer dangerously wounded; that General Clement Thomas upon his appearance had been hailed with loud cries of "Vive la Legion d'Honneur;" to which, spurring his horse into the midst of the crowd, he had replied, "Vive la République." M. Lamartine hastily remounted the tribune, and with much excitement stated that a fatal occurrence had taken place, that several shots had been fired, one against the commander of the National Guard, one at an officer of the line, and a third against the breast of a National Guard. The blood which had never flowed in the pure cause of the Republic had now

been shed on behalf of military fanaticism, for that these shots had been fired with the cry of "Vive l'Empereur." He therefore thought it right that the Assembly should at once, by acclamation, vote the exile and exclusion of Louis Napoleon, and he read a decree prepared to that effect.

This *coup de théâtre* had, for the time, the most signal success; some few murmurs were heard against the cruelty of so summary a proceeding; but there is no sentiment which operates so powerfully and universally upon the National Assembly as that of self-preservation. The words of M. Lamartine had convinced them of the presence of danger; and thereupon a confidence which they did not feel was readily voted under the influence of panic, and an injustice was loudly authorised in a moment of passion which was the consequence of that panic. For it would have been an injustice to have thus hastily convicted one of their colleagues, who had been elected by three different departments, of an attempt at assassination, even if the facts had been such as they were represented by M. Lamartine; but they were not only exaggerated, but perverted by the erroneous reports to which he gave premature currency. It is now understood that there were not several shots, but one: no one was killed, as the expression of "fatal" led many, at the time, to believe; some say the National Guard was wounded in the hand by his own pistol, which went off in his pocket; but, be this as it

may, all agree that none was pointed at M. Clement Thomas. The figure, used by M. Lamartine, as to the first blood being shed in the cause of the reaction, not of the revolution, was evidently in oblivion of the National Guards killed on the 15th of May in the attempt to arrest some of the anarchists, and whose funeral the Assembly had, as usual, attended by deputation. There is no doubt that general discontent, which pervades many classes in Paris, has caused much excitement in favour of a well-remembered name; but I am convinced, unless the Government are in possession of secret information of a serious character, that the making a martyr of Louis Napoleon, by attempting to exclude him from the Assembly, is as imprudent as it is unjust.

Already the force of circumstances has put the Executive Government in a false position, and has excited general remark upon the wide difference between their promises and the practices they have adopted. They must recollect that the judgment passed upon their personal merits and system of government is shown by this fact: that whereas, in April, every one of them was returned by the constituency of Paris, in June not one of the candidates recommended by them was elected; and depending, as they do, upon popular suffrage, it may not be quite safe for them to attempt, on any grounds hitherto stated, to exclude from the constituent Assembly a person three times returned

as the national choice. I understand the National Guards are by no means united on this subject. The legions of the Banlieue are warm partisans of Louis Bonaparte.

The conduct of General Clément Thomas during the scenes of yesterday excited general disapprobation.

This morning the following telegraphic message and decree were brought to me as having been already forwarded to all the *préfets* and *sous-préfets* by the Executive Commission :—

“ Le Ministre de l’Intérieur aux préfets et sous-préfets.

“ Par ordre de la Commission du Pouvoir Exécutif faites arrêter Charles Louis Napoléon Bonaparte, s’il est signalé dans votre département. Transmettez partout les ordres nécessaires.”

The *signalement* was subjoined.

June 13.

I revert to the law against the *attroupements* passed in a single sitting on the evening of the 7th, because it is brought into nightly operation. No one, unfortunately, can say that severe legal provisions are not necessary against the existing agitation of the population of Paris; but when the question is considered, what political institutions are best calculated to diffuse happiness and contentment amongst the people, one may remark that within the first few months of a democratic republic an Assembly elected by universal suffrage has found it necessary to punish with penalties, varying from six months up to five years' imprisonment, individuals who may have been found to have formed part of an *attrouement* to which it is very possible they may have been merely misled by curiosity. The second and third articles, taken in connexion, are rather curiosities in their way. It was declared that any one who formed part of a meeting with arms was guilty of a crime if he did not disperse at the first summons, and of "délit" if he did; and then the third article defined an armed meeting as one where any person had arms, either open or concealed, provided every one of such persons was not immediately expelled by the crowd of which they formed a part. The question naturally arises how could the crowd expel, on that account,

those whose arms were concealed ; if they were no longer concealed, what was the necessity of defining them as such, when the question was not as to the culpability of the act of carrying such arms, but as to the character their concealed presence was to give to the culpability of others ? M. Baze, an advocate of Bordeaux, proposed the omission of the words "ou cachées," still reserving, in a different clause, a punishment well deserved for such individuals as were found to have had "des armes cachées."

But the Assembly clung to the extreme rigour of the law, objected to any amendment, and it remains an offence to stand by a person who has a concealed weapon. These powers are vigorously and indiscriminately applied to any persons who may be found upon certain Boulevards at the particular moment at which it pleases the police to make a razzia. Some few nights since, ——, as he was returning home through that part of the town with a friend, Mr. C., was arrested and carried off to the Prefecture of Police. The only charge against them was, that they had not shown sufficient alacrity in obeying the *sommation* to retire. This —— denies, and says that when he was arrested he was walking quietly away through a side street. This happened late at night, and I heard nothing about it till the next morning, when, upon my demand, —— was at once released, therefore I have nothing of which to complain, as it is one of the evils of the necessity for such a law

that the police cannot be expected always to execute it without mistake. But as the English, with their known desire to see everything, have a national tendency to a crowd, and as I understand some, under similar circumstances, have been unnecessarily detained, I shall make a representation on the subject.

— says that the only uneasy moment he had was, when he heard some of his companions in misfortune, who had probably more reason to fear an investigation than he had, as they were passing along a dark, narrow street, attempting to arrange some effort at escape. This being suspected, the officer in charge said, that in that case he should be obliged to order a volley to be fired into the middle of them.

June 14.

There is no doubt that public opinion was much indisposed towards the Executive Commission by this step known to have been taken by them, ordering the arbitrary arrest of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. It had too much the appearance of a proceeding of the former Committee of Public Safety, and it would have required some very strong evidence, as yet unknown, to give practical consequences the next day to M. Lamartine's impassioned appeal for a vote by acclamation of the exclusion

of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte in consequence of a supposed conspiracy to make him emperor, accompanied by an attempt at assassination. I expressed a doubt whether the facts would turn out such as he had represented them to the Assembly. His statement was generally understood, before the next day's discussion commenced, to have been, to say the least of it, very highly coloured, and it was with all the disadvantage of the reaction this produced in men's minds, that the debate commenced upon the question to which the Government had committed itself, which was generally felt to be unjust if it had been expedient, and most inexpedient even if it had been just. The Republic was supposed to be afraid of a name; they feared its popularity, and their remedy was, to refuse the holder of that name a participation in the actual state of things, and the common character of a representative with which he was invested by the people. They believed him to be incapable, and yet they refused him the occasion offered by the popular will of showing his supposed nullity; and they would have added the interest of a martyr to the vague cry of a name.

Fortunately for present tranquillity, the Government were defeated, and unfortunately for them the reporter of the bureaux commissioned to examine into the election of Louis Napoleon was their ancient colleague, M. Jules Favre, who did not spare them any of the disgrace of defeat in his exposure

of all their contradictory proceedings with reference to the admission of Prince Louis Napoleon. An interruption on the part of his old chief and intimate associate, Ledru-Rollin, led to the following extraordinary proof that, in revolutionary times, friendships are as frail as reputations are precarious. M. Jules Favre had been proving logically that the law of 1832, for the exclusion of the Bonaparte family, had been virtually and recently repealed by this very Assembly, and under the inspiration of this very Government; and he was citing to this effect the language used within the fortnight by the then Minister of Justice, and alluding with an inimitable accent of sarcasm to their equally contradictory conduct in the case of the prosecution of Louis Blanc. Referring to the reasons given on the second of June, by the Minister of Justice, why it was impossible to maintain the law against the Bonaparte family, he continued: "Et l'Assemblée s'écrie 'très-bien!' et le Gouvernement, qui par l'organe du Ministre de la Justice ne manque jamais de faire connaître sa pensée, l'a fait connaître à l'instant avec une heureuse spontanéité."

M. Ledru-Rollin. "Pas plus par son organe que par le vôtre dans les circonstances données."

Le Citoyen Jules Favre. "M. Ledru-Rollin me fait l'honneur de m'interrompre pour me dire que le Gouvernement n'a pas fait connaître sa volonté par la bouche de M. le Ministre de la Justice, plus qu'il ne l'a fait connaître par la mienne lorsque le Gou-

vernement m'a desavoué.. A ceci deux réponses : la première que je n'ai jamais eu l'*honneur* d'être Ministre de la Commission Exécutive, que lorsque j'ai fait un rapport qui était conforme à ce que je croyais être et ce que la majorité de l'Assemblée croyait être la pensée de la Commission Exécutive ; j'avais pour moi, je le crois, le bon sens, c'était mon illusion. Mais j'agissais comme simple représentant : j'agissais au risque de ma popularité, parce que ma conscience y était engagé. Je le faisais ensuite pour ne pas abandonner mes amis Portalis et Landrin, qui avaient fait courageusement leur devoir. Je demande pardon à l'Assemblée d'entrer dans une digression ; ce n'est pas moi qui l'ai provoqué, c'est un Membre de la Commission Exécutive, qui m'a fait l'*honneur* de m'interrompre."

I have taken this much from the report in this morning's "Moniteur;" first, because it is a curious proof of the personal divisions which exist even amongst Republicans of somewhat the same colour, and who have shared the duties of the same department ; and secondly, because it is a very characteristic example of the peculiar style of speaking of one whom I am inclined to estimate very highly as a master in the art of passionless invective. I have underlined the word "*l'honneur*" wherever he applied it to M. Ledru-Rollin, but it is only the ear which could do justice to all that was conveyed by its peculiar emphasis. M. Jules Favre's delivery is systematically slow to a fault ; his pauses well

studied, but somewhat exaggerated ; his intonation affectedly soft and silky, but his oratorical powers, in the line in which they were here excited, first-rate ; and I have entered into these details because, if the Republican party consolidates itself in power, it is almost certain that he must play a very considerable part.* He alluded indirectly, but insufficiently pointedly, to the connection of the name of M. Ledru-Rollin with the Provisional Government of the 15th of May, and cited it as a parallel case to the unauthorised cry of "Vive l'Empereur !" and the peroration of M. Lamartine about the pistol-shot of the day before was unsparingly turned into ridicule. The *coup de grâce* was given to this *coup de théâtre* by General Clement Thomas, who began, "Mon nom a été fatalement mêlé avec cette discussion." He was naturally asked, "Pourquoi fatalement ?" as it was evident he had not been "kilt dead," as they say in Ireland. But it was this very expression which had produced its effect in the mouth of M. Lamartine, and then he supposed

* As the Republican party never did consolidate itself, it is not surprising that my prognostic was never realised. M. Jules Favre was a member of the next Legislative Assembly, and sometimes spoke with great effect ; but the Mountain distrusted him, and he despised the Mountain ; and his reputed connexion with "Les Bulletins de la République" deprived him, even if he had desired it, of any footing in the Moderate party. He had a favourite phrase in speaking, "de deux choses l'une ;" and when this was articulated with spiteful zest, one felt certain that his victim was sure to be stretched out at full length upon the horns of a merciless and inextricable dilemma.

victim proceeded to discredit the statement of his chief by denying a consciousness that any one had fired at him.

After many ineffectual attempts upon the part of the friends of the Government to arrest the blow, the admission of Louis Bonaparte was voted by a very large majority; the old parliamentary opposition of all shades, with the moderate party of no very pronounced opinions, voting in his favour; the Ultra Republicans, with the exception of Louis Blanc, supporting the Government. The Executive Council had thus unnecessarily provoked a crisis, the result of which has been to avert the greater and more immediate danger; but there is no doubt that the future is much obscured by the events of the last few days.

I hardly believe that the vote of yesterday will lead to the retirement of the Government; if it does, it is difficult amongst the Republican party to find their successors, and the country is not yet ripe for the rule of men of any other opinions. If, on the other hand, they continue in office, their previous unpopularity has been so much increased within the last few days, that they will hardly receive that cordial support necessary for the maintenance of order.

I omitted to mention yesterday that M. Thiers and his party and the bulk of the Legitimists voted with the Government on Monday, not choosing to make a question of necessary funds one of con-

fidence in a Government which they had no desire at present to displace. The minority consisted of individuals of all shades of opinion, who did not like even for a few weeks to leave power in the hands of those whose incapacity they had witnessed, and whose integrity they distrusted.

I have been all the morning waiting in the Assembly through a dull debate, in expectation of hearing what the Government meant to do in consequence of their defeat yesterday. It is understood that they have been of four or five different minds during the day. This morning they resolved positive resignation; then they intended to ask the Chamber if their vote meant that it had withdrawn its confidence; then they were to get a hack to ask *them* whether they themselves thought it meant that, and if they required any consolatory vote upon the subject. They tried to get those questions inserted in the middle of another discussion. To this the House objected, and they ended by postponing them till to-morrow.

It was told me by a member that when the question is asked, the majority mean to say to them, "You had better resign, and then, if you are elected again, you will see you have not lost our confidence." I do not know whether they will give in to this. In the meantime, certainly the vote of yesterday has given a temporary calm to the town.

June 15.

Amidst the wreck of so many reputations suddenly launched upon the troubled waters of revolution, there is only one which at this moment rides the storm in triumph.

No one would have anticipated that M. le Vicomte de Falloux, known in the last Chamber as little more than an amiable, gentlemanlike man of strong Legitimist opinions, would so soon have conquered the position which he, at this moment, occupies in the Republican Constituent Assembly. It required a combination of several qualities, and the fortunate accident of having taken possession of the question of the moment, that of *les Ateliers Nationaux*, to bring him at once so prominently forward. He has, at a time when no one seems to know how to deal with this monstrous creation, threatening as it does to overwhelm the whole social system, shown a calm and an energy combined, which have secured him a lead amongst those who had no previous sympathy for him. It must be confessed that, as an orator, he has unusual advantage in dealing with such an original as M. Trelat, the Minister of Public Works. This gentleman was a respectable medical practitioner in one of the most wretched parts of Paris; a man of kind heart, and apparently of simple manners, whose benevolence often assisted those whom his science could not cure. The caprices of revolution have

removed him from his proper sphere. In politics he can never be other than a mischievous empiric.

Yesterday in the Assembly he proposed a vote of three millions for the *Ateliers Nationaux*, without giving any explanation as to the steps he had taken to remedy the evils which every one supposed to be daily increasing, or any justification of the arbitrary measures worthy of the worst days of the *ancien régime*, which he had adopted towards M. Émile Thomas, who, it appears, had petitioned to be heard in his own defence, and in accusation of his former employers. M. de Falloux treated this demand of the minister as a vote of confidence, which he refused without previous inquiry, and moved that the question, both as to the state of the establishment and the treatment of the individuals, should be referred to a special commission. He stated, in the course of his speech, that it was impossible to tell which was the accuser and which the accused between M. Trelat and M. Thomas; that the last time the subject was discussed, they had heard of a mission of importance with which the minister said he had intrusted his former employer; but that the very next day this mission was, by telegraphic message, changed into an arrest; and again, after a time, M. Thomas had returned to Paris, and desired to be allowed to tell his own story.

The reply of the minister was of a most singular character, and, till I saw it in the "Moniteur" this morning, I could hardly believe that I could

have heard aright. After giving anything but satisfactory explanations as to the actual state of the establishment, he came to the personal question, and is thus recorded as having expressed himself:—“J'ai fait en ma vie dernièrement une chose q^{ue} je n'avais jamais faite; c'est vrai — une chose qui a l'apparence d'une violence—une violence peut-être.” Peut-être, indeed! Thus a very honest and sincere Republican *de la veille* is not quite sure whether it is a violence to send a man off, at a moment's notice, between *gens d'armes*, from one end of France to the other, in the dead of the night, without allowing him to defend himself, or to communicate with any one! The latter part of his statement puzzled me still more, but I had made no mistake, and thus it appears:—“J'étais trop *médecin* encore peut-être, et pas assez homme de pouvoir; j'ai fait partir!” Does he mean that he thought it part of his former professional duty to enforce prescribed change of air through the medium of two *gens d'armes*? This is putting the power of the faculty higher than I ever heard it before. When M. Purgon, in the “Malade Imaginaire,” accuses Argan of “un crime de lèse-façulté, un attentat énorme contre la médecine,” the assistant apothecary had only attempted to enforce “les ordonnances,” armed with weapons purely professional; but when M. Trelat thrust a man into a carriage through the intervention of the bayonets of the *gendarmerie*, with every dis-

position to give him credit for good intentions, which are apparent through all the absurdities of his expressions, we cannot but feel, in spite of his assertion, that he is already more of a despot than a doctor.

M. de Falloux's motion was carried without further opposition, and the Commission to inquire voted.

As to the general aspect of affairs, I am afraid we have only got a slight lull for a time here; but certainly the effect of the vote of the Assembly upon the angry crowds who were assembled that day would look as if the sense of the injustice attempted had been foremost in the agitation of the preceding four-and-twenty hours. *Le coup de pistolet* of Lamartine has had the *recoché* of a cannon against himself. We shall see to-day how he gets over the explanations in the Assembly. No one wishes to turn the Government out, from not knowing whom to put in their place, but the vote will probably give them a diminished majority after many unpleasant truths have been spoken.

In the meantime the Sections or the physical force of the "République rouge" are said to be organising themselves for a day; and the army is supposed to be much infected with Napoleonism. Three regiments were sent away from Paris yesterday. One regiment of dragoons, in marching through Versailles, passed a tree of liberty, and shouted, "A bas la Liberté! Vive l'Empereur!"

6 P. M.

I have just returned from witnessing another extraordinary turn in the affairs of this disturbed country, after a tedious debate upon matters of no lively interest, though of some serious importance. The President of the Assembly read a letter from Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, which produced a storm for which I had been by no means prepared, as I had followed the *lecture* word for word.

"Londres, le 14 Juin, 1848.

"M. le Président,

"Je partais pour me rendre à mon poste lorsque j'apprends que mon élection sert de prétexte à des troubles déplorables et à des erreurs funestes. Je n'ai pas recherché l'honneur d'être représentant du peuple, parce que je savais les soupçons injustes dont j'étais l'objet: je rechercherais encore moins le pouvoir.

"Si le peuple m'impose des devoirs, je saurai les remplir: mais je désavoue tous ceux qui me prêteraient des intentions ambitieuses que je n'ai pas. Mon nom est un symbole d'ordre, de nationalité et de gloire, et ce serait avec la plus vive douleur que je le verrais servir à augmenter les troubles et les déchirements de la patrie. Pour éviter un tel malheur je resterais plutôt en exil; je suis prêt à tous les sacrifices pour le bonheur de la France. Ayez la bonté, Monsieur le Prési-

dent, de donner connaissance de cette lettre à mes collègues. Je vous envoie une copie de mes remerciements aux électeurs. Recevez l'assurance de mes sentiments distingués.

“ LOUIS NAPOLÉON BONAPARTE.”

The agitation, the indignation, the rabid fury shown against the writer, did not so much arise from anything the letter contained, for the only phrase they could cite as liable to objection was this : “ Si le peuple m'impose des devoirs, je saurai les remplir,” which would have seemed to be inoffensive when taken in connection with his previous disclaimer that he had sought to be elected a representative, and followed with the disavowal of all those who could connect him with any projects of personal ambition. It must be admitted that, taken grammatically, it might better have avoided the susceptibilities of a suspicious body, if it had been worded, “ comme le peuple m'impose des devoirs, je saurai les remplir,” instead of “ si le peuple m'impose,” which was construed to mean something beyond the mandate *de représentant*, which has been already conferred.

But the high crime and misdemeanour consisted in an *omission* — there was no mention of the Republic. This was at once signalised with much animation by the Minister of War, General Cavaignac, who has never spoken before, except upon professional subjects. He began by stating that

one of the members of the Executive Commission had said upon the debate, two days ago, that there was one person who had not yet spoken. *He* had now broken silence : " My emotions (as I understood the General to continue) are too great to enable me to say all I desire. But, in this document, which will become historical, " le mot de la République n'est jamais prononcé." The General, though animated in his tone, was unobjectionable in his manner, made no proposition, but, having noticed the fact, declined to interfere further. Upon this there arose such cries, there spread such a universal agitation, as I had hardly ever before witnessed, even within those walls. All round the Assembly, but particularly amongst the Mountain, the members jumped up, and, failing of any chance of a general auditory, began with passionate gestures, addressing their immediate neighbours. In the midst of all this, I was most unwillingly called away from the Assembly by urgent business ; but a person who remained in the House a few minutes later than I did, has just reported that even those who were most anxious to avail themselves of this incident to reverse the decision as to the admission of Louis Napoleon, saw that it was necessary to give some weight to their intended decision that, in the existing state of excitement, they should adjourn the question till to-morrow. This was done, though some cried,

"*Then*, there will be a battle before another debate." Louis Napoleon seemed to have lost, by this omission of a word, every friend he had had in the Assembly; even the *rappoiteur*, M. Jules Favre, who had contributed so much to the decision in his favour, gave him up, saying, that when he had made the previous motion, he had not known the disposition "*de ce Prince*" towards the Republic.

June 16.

There was much excitement at the opening of the Assembly to-day. All the members of the Executive Commission were there, and it was understood that their endeavour was to have been to have availed themselves, for their own purposes, of the unfavourable effect produced in the Assembly by the letter of Louis Buonaparte, read at the conclusion of yesterday's sitting. Their first act, however, gave quite a different colour to the whole affair. The President commenced by reading another letter from the same person, the substance of which was, that, proud as he had been of finding himself the choice of five different departments—an

honour which was not the less precious that it had been unsolicited ; yet, as he found that his name had been the cause of culpable attempts, and himself exposed to unjust suspicion by the Executive Commission, he declined, at present, to avail himself of the privilege conferred upon him by the people, and put his resignation in the hands of the President. But these are his own words : —

“ Londres, le 15 Juin.

“ Monsieur le Président,

“ J'étais fier d'avoir été élu représentant du peuple de Paris, et dans trois autres départements. C'était à mes yeux une ample réparation pour trente années d'exil et six ans de captivité. Mais les soupçons injurieux qu'a fait naître mon élection, mais les troubles dont elle a été le prétexte, mais l'hostilité du pouvoir exécutif m'impose le devoir de refuser un honneur qu'on croit avoir été obtenu par l'intrigue. Je désire l'ordre, et le maintien d'une République sage, grande, et intelligente ; et puisque, involontairement, je favorise le désordre, je dépose, non sans de vifs regrets, ma démission entre vos mains. Bientôt, j'espère, le calme renaîtra, et me permettra de rentrer en France comme le plus simple des citoyens, mais, aussi, comme un des plus dévoués au repos et à la prospérité de son pays. Recevez, Monsieur le Président, l'assurance de mes sentiments les plus distingués.

“ LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.”

This announcement was received, I should say, with evident satisfaction by almost all the Assembly, except the Executive Council. I have little doubt that they regretted the occasion which they thought an alleged conspiracy on his part might have given them, to have made the Assembly feel itself in the wrong in the dispute which they had had with reference to him, and have induced them, by voting either his arrest or his exclusion, to continue their official tenure on their own terms. As it is, their position is a very absurd one: they had already tried on Monday last to connect him with an imaginative plot, and, in spite of momentary success, failed in the candid opinion of every one. And at the very time when they were endeavouring, yesterday, by a forced construction upon his first letter, to attribute to him the pretensions of a usurper, he was writing a second, in which his self-denial, whether sincere or well assumed, was giving a timely denial to their injurious suspicions, and was placing those very suspicions as the only bar between him and the post for which he had been the people's choice.

I suppose this resignation will give us a temporary calm in the streets, but it is not likely to diminish the feeling in his favour. There are numerous groups reading his address to the electors, wherever it is *affiché*. It is perfectly unobjectionable in its tone, and has pleased the smaller shopkeepers much by his reference in it to peace-

ful relations with foreign countries ; for, with them, an immediate war was dreaded as the first consequence of his accession to the Government, under whatever title it might be.

But the real strength of the cry for him, or for any other new name that may any day arise, is the odium with which the present men are regarded. I have watched the conduct of those who are now in power, for the last few months. Whatever may be the exceptional qualities and personal distinctions of certain individuals, as a body of public men, I believe that they do not possess any one redeeming quality ; nor, if they remain, could I foresee any other check or limit to the mischief they are capable of doing, except their official incapacity or parliamentary weakness.

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